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MARY,

QUEEN OF SCOTS:

A JOURNAL OF HER TWENTY YEARS' CAPTIVITY, TRIAL, AND EXECUTION:

FROM STATE PAPERS, AND CONTEMPORARY LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

BY W. JOS. WALTER,

LATE OF ST. EDMUND'S COLLEGE.

AUTHOR OF THE "LIFE AND TIMES OF SIR THOMAS MORE."

VOL. II.

Illustrated with two autograph letters of Mary, the one in her sixteenth, the other in her thirty-sixth year.

Philadelphia:

CAREY AND HART.

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CAPTIVITY

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

CHAPTER V.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS AT CHATSWORTH.

ÆTAT. 36.—1579, TO 1582.

istorical Summary—Journal of the Earl of Shrewsbury continued—Bishop of Ross, his letter to the Queen of Scots—s eulogium of his royal mistress.

: alledged attempts of the Earls of Westmoreand and Northumberland to effect the liberation of ne Queen of Scots, together with her supposed nterest with these disaffected nobles, formed an xcuse for her more close confinement. Her faithul and fearless adherent, the good Bishop of Ross, complained that his royal mistress was debarred rom taking her usual exercise on horseback, by which her health was much prejudiced.

In the meantime, two of Elizabeth's ministers, Burghley and Mildmay, had been sent to Chats-

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worth, at that time Mary's place of imprisonment, to endeavour to settle some terms on which she might be liberated.

The principal proposals were, that Mary should renounce any pretensions to the English crown; that she should adhere to the alliance between the kingdoms; grant pardon to the subjects who had been in arms against her during the civil war, and put into the Queen of England's hands hostages of high rank, and some castles in Scotland, by way of guarantee. It is plain that Elizabeth's only pretensions to obtain such articles arose from her having in possession the person of the Queen of Scots, committed to her in a moment of unwary confidence; yet hard as these conditions were, Mary was in such a state as might have compelled her to subscribe to them or to worse. But no security could possibly have been granted adequate to soothe the real apprehensions of Elizabeth, and the affected scruples of her counsellors. The treaty was therefore disturbed, and finally broken off, by the introduction of commissioners in the name of the youthful King of Scotland, whose interests Elizabeth pretended she was bound to consult: these were the Earl of Morton and two other persons of his party, who interrupted the whole proceedings, by maintaining the high Calvinistic principle of lawful resistance, on the part of the subject, even to sovereign authority. In such principles it was impossible that those acting for Elizabeth should dare to acquiesce; and though there can be no doubt that Elizabeth, upon this as well as upon former occasions, might have dictated to the Scottish commissioners how they were to limit their pleadings, yet

she rather chose to consider the mode in which they had been entered as a total bar to further proceedings in the treaty, which was thus broken off.

While her health was declining, and her comforts diminished, Mary still clung to one hope, which she nourished with uncommon tenacity, although it is difficult to conceive what she could have expected from it. From the moment she set foot on English ground the Queen of Scots had reckoned a great deal upon the effect to be wrought on Elizabeth's mind in the personal interview which she never failed to demand. Yet what could it have availed the unfortunate Queen to have had the means of convincing Elizabeth by ocular demonstration that she, so long hated as a rival, did in fact possess more beauty, equal sense, as much accomplishment, and wit and grace superior to her own. The suspicion that such was the case was what had originally excited Elizabeth's hatred to Mary; and every thing which led to convince her of the truth of what she suspected, could only enhance that evil feeling. It would also have been very difficult to have chosen and supported in such an interview a character, which would have left her at liberty to act against Queen Mary the severe conduct correspondent to the part by which she might have already meditated closing the scene. Elizabeth might think there was less difficulty in executing a defamed and neglected prisoner, than in taking the life of one whom she had admitted to her presence as a sister sovereign. She might hold with her father Henry the VIII. the truth of the popular adage, that

A King's face should give grace.

and therefore determine not to admit to her presence

the victim whom she was resolved not to pardon. At any rate, she was determined on postponing and declining all Mary's pleadings for an interview, and at length hardly deigned to return any answer to her solicitations upon that subject. This period of their intercourse was strongly contrasted with that in which Sir James Melville, then the Scottish ambassador at the court of London, proposed, in a tone of jocose raillery, that Elizabeth should disguise herself as his page, and ride down to Scotland merely to see his mistress; to which, willingly accepting the compliment, she replied with a sigh, "Would to heaven she might do so!" It is curious to compare the behaviour of individuals to each other in sunshine and shower, in good fortune and adversity.

1579. *May* 29.—Lord Francis Talbot to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

Upon my coming to Court, her Majesty asked for your Lordship, and when I had presented your duty to her, she asked me when I saw your Lordship, and your charge. I told her Majesty that I had attended on you at Sheffield; that you came to a house which you were building, and there I took leave of your Lordship, and you returned to your charge; but as for the Queen of Scots, I had not seen her many years. I can see that your Lordship's charge must be great, from the many contrarieties I have observed here.—My Lord of Leicester, as I hear, is making great preparation, at Kenilworth, and would gladly have leave to go thither, but as yet her Majesty will not grant him permission.

July 9.—Shrewsbury to Burghley.

I am sorry that I troubled your Lordship to apply

to her Majesty respecting this Lady's going to Buxton and Chatsworth, since her Majesty is pleased so greatly to dislike it. Her Majesty's pleasure, as signified to me by your Lordship, shall be strictly obeyed.

Now, my Lord, it has pleased her Majesty to think much of last year's allowance for this Lady's diet; and yet when, on former occasions, I stated my great charges, it pleased her Majesty to allow them. I have borne much, besides the cark and care I have had, which for no earthly consideration could I endure, did I not think my service acceptable to her Majesty. To avoid further trouble, I wish to be paid in some of her Majesty's receipts; for I understand by Mr. Walsingham, through whom I applied for the last year's payment, that her Majesty makes some demur thereat. It grieves me not a little to be obliged twice in the year to trouble her Majesty and your Lordship, as well as my other good friends, in this matter. I had thought to have troubled them otherwise, by begging them to forward my suit to her Highness for a further consideration of my faithful and careful services for these twelve years past. I am encouraged to do this, from seeing her Majesty's bountifulness to her other faithful servants, of which number I count myself one. Since this matter has again come in question, I shall be led to doubt that her Majesty has conceived some dislike of my services, till I am satisfied by your Lordship's letters. I heartily desire your Lord to do this as soon as your leisure will permit, for it would grieve me in any way to be had in suspicion, deserving so well as I have done, and intend to do, it being my wish to live and die as faithful a servant as ever she had, or shall have.

July 26.—SHREWSBURY TO THE SAME.

I think myself very much beholden to you for your honourable dealing with her Majesty, for the allowance of the diet of this Queen, my charge. Assuredly I think it very strange that any motion should be made to abridge the same. When I first received the said charge, it is true that I yielded thereto, to show the desire I had, without respect to myself, my poor estate, or the peril I incurred, to do her Majesty service; not for the hope of profit from her Majesty's allowance, one half of the former at Bolton having been diminished, as her Majesty's officers sent thither can well declare. I know not what account is made of my charges in keeping this woman, but assuredly the keep of my whole household, with the entertainment I give my household servants is not defrayed from the allowance I have from her Majesty; over and above this, I dare be bold to say, that the wine, the spice, and fuel, spent in my house yearly, would not, if valued, come to under £1000 a year. Add to this, the loss of plate, the buying of pewter, and all manner of household stuff, which they have exceedingly spoiled and wilfully wasted, stands me in £1000 more. Besides this, the annuities I have given to my servants, to be more faithfully served by them, and to prevent corruption, come to above £400 a year; not including the charges of all the soldiers I keep, over and above her Majesty's allowance, which being but 6*d.* per day, it may be well supposed, will not content men employed in such painful and careful service. I omit a number of other secret charges, which I am driven to by keeping this woman, in order not to trouble you too long. I do trust that her Ma-

jesty, of her own consideration, will think of these things, and not abridge any thing of what she has hitherto allowed. During these eleven years' service with this charge, I have not pestered her Majesty with any suits, neither have I complained of the heavy burden my mind has borne in providing for her safety, and which my body has sustained, being weakened by my exertions, esteeming myself happy and fortunate in living to do her Majesty true and loyal service. Her Majesty, of her gracious goodness, granted my Lord Scrope, in her favor, for his half-year service, £800 per annum; and that her Majesty should now, after my eleven years' service, during which time she has been kept with no less safety than before, in spite of many dangerous attempts, no otherwise recompense me, than by abating my allowance; surely the world must needs think, either that my deserts have been very small, or else that her Majesty makes very little account of me, which she, in her princely nature will, I hope, never do.

This day I go with my charge to Buxton Well.

August 9.—SHREWSBURY TO THE SAME.

I arrived here at Buxton with my charge, the 28th of July. She had a hard beginning of her journey, for as she was mounting her horse, he started aside, and she fell and hurt her back, which she still complains of, notwithstanding she applies the bath once or twice a day. I most strictly observe her Majesty's command, in hindering all resort to this place; she neither sees, nor is seen by any others than her own people, and such as I appoint to attend her. She has not been out of the house since her coming, nor shall she before her parting.

Most of the people have been sick since her coming hither, of the new disease; herself as yet has escaped.* My care to discharge the trust it has pleased her Majesty to repose in me is, and shall be, no less than it has been heretofore: but, my Lord, I must unburden my griefs to your Lordship, whose wisdom I know to be great, and who are every way considerate. I think myself very hardly dealt withal, that, after twelve years' faithful services, it should be in the power of any insidious enemy of mine, to persuade her Majesty so much against me, as to induce her to think me unworthy of this small portion, the allowance for this Lady's diet, &c. I am driven on account of this charge of mine, to spend yearly double that sum; not to speak of the loss of liberty, the endangering of my life, and the many other discomforts to which no money could have hired me: it is the desire I feel to serve my Sovereign that makes peril and pain a pleasure to me.

I will not trouble your Lordship particularly with my list of expenses, because I have of late written them more at length. My trust in your Lordship is, that you will so deal with her Majesty, that so great a disgrace be not done me, as to abate any part of the allowance; it touches me more nearly than a much greater matter in value could do. My assured trust has been, and is, that her Majesty, of

* In a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, the following account is given of this new malady. "This new and strange sickness attacks men in the head, accompanied with a stitch in the stomach. Few die of it, and yet many are infected. I am credibly informed, that forty students of Lincoln's Inn were taken within the space of twenty four hours. At Court, the Lady Lincoln, the Lady Howard, and the Lady Stafford, are sick with it."

her gracious goodness, would reward me with more than I have received for this charge, that it might be a testimony to the world of her good acceptance of my faithful services.

From Buxton.

Nov. 28.—BURGHLEY TO SHREWSBURY.

I am very sorry that I cannot yet procure at her Majesty's hands any thing decisive respecting the allowance of the Scottish Queen's diet, as I desire, and as in reason I conceive her Majesty ought to yield. I have oftentimes laid before her Majesty both the care and charges your Lordship doth sustain, and what consideration and reward others have had, who have borne that burden but a short season. But yet can I not prevail to work that good I desire, though her Majesty acknowledges herself as much bound to you, as a prince may be to a subject, for the faithful discharging of the trust committed to you. I find she is rather disposed to gratify your Lordship with some suit, than to continue the allowance. Two causes move her for the present to deal more straitly in this matter of allowance; the one, the great charges she is at in Ireland, which amount to about £10,000 a month, the other, a request made a good while since by Scotland, to borrow a piece of money for the discharge of the King's debts.

Palace of Richmond.

The following sample of the way in which Elizabeth could keep up a kind of flirtation, in the midst of her meanness, is found in a letter from Henry Talbot to the Earl his father:—"When I was leaving the Court, her Majesty said that she marvelled

greatly that she had received but one letter from your Lordship, this long time. She wondered you wrote no oftener, and was pleased to term you 'her love.' She protested how anxious she was about your health, and what a trouble your sickness had been to her. I answered that your Lordship's chief comfort, and hope of speedy recovery, depended on her Majesty's gracious favour and countenance. At this her Highness smiled and said: "Talbot, we have not yet shown him that favour which hereafter we mean to do."

1580. *Jan.* 12.—The following letter, as well as some others of the same year, present an agreeable picture of that subdued and softened state of mind, into which Mary had gradually sunk. They manifest a tranquillity of spirit, which it is difficult to reconcile with the supposition that she had the guilt of murder on her conscience:—

To my Aunt the Duchess of Nemours.

Aunt,—If you have ever thought otherwise than that I should be most happy to receive good news from you, and to hear that I continue in your favour, you have done me great wrong. I know the honour and respect which I owe you, and the same I shall bear to you as long as I live. I entreat you henceforth to have this opinion of me, and believe that it will be a great pleasure to me to hear of your well-being, as also of that of my cousin, Monsieur Nemours, and that of your little children my cousins, whom I hold as dear to me as if they were own brothers to my cousins Guise. You may easily judge whether poor prisoners are glad not to be forgotten by their former friends and relatives, though they are not permitted to write to them on all occa-

sions as they could wish, and even at present, when I am pressed to write previous to the departure of M. de La Motte, from London. All I can say then, is, that in the midst of my own misfortunes, I share in those which you suffer. Please God to put an end to them all! as I do to these presents, after having embraced my cousin of Nemours, and yourself, and begged you to show all favour to the bearer, for my sake. I pray God that he may give you, my Aunt, a very long and happy life.

Your most obedient and affectionate good niece,

MARIE.

From Sheffield, this 12th of January.

TO THE SAME.

My Aunt,—It is now a long while since I recommended myself to your good will, not from any want of desire for its continuance, but from being so closely watched, that fault is found with the size of my packets, and the number of my letters. They say that I write to too many people; that I have no need of so much news. They make no scruple of opening every thing, and of withholding whatever they please. I do verily believe that they are vexed it should be known that I am still in this world. Yet so it is, that, as long as I remain in it, I shall be wholly yours, and that you may reckon on the entire affection of a poor princess, a captive, and in adversity, as much as on any niece you have in the world. This I entreat you to do, and to give me from time to time good news of yourself, and of my uncle, M. de Nemours, to whom I beg you to remember me most affectionately, as well as to all your children and cousins; and having kissed your

hands, I pray God to give you, my Aunt, health and long life.

Your most affectionate and obedient good niece,
MARIE.

January 26.—SHREWSBURY TO ELIZABETH.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,—Whereas it pleased your Highness to commit this Lady to my charge, and to grant me an allowance these twelve years for the same; as a stay is now made of it, I humbly beseech your Majesty to stand my gracious sovereign, that, in respect of my true and faithful services, I may not be dishonoured by an abatement of my allowance. And whereas your Highness is pleased to write me, that it behooves the keeper of so great a charge, not to go far away from the same, I trust your Highness will pardon me for humbly representing to you, that the journey which I made was not far from my house, and that the same voyage was begun and ended in three days, during which time my charge was safely guarded, and that I daily heard from thence. I trust that my former service in carefully guarding my charge, is sufficient to counteract any information my enemies can attempt to bring against me. I see that some are busy to bring me into disgrace with your Highness, but I trust they will not prevail. I am persuaded they would not venture on such an attempt, if I might have access to your royal presence, which is the thing I have long thirsted after, and now earnestly sue for from your Majesty's hands.

January 27.—SHREWSBURY TO BURGHLEY.

I thank your Lordship for your care in mentioning to her Majesty my desire to remove with my charge

to Chatsworth; and it greatly grieves me that her Majesty is not pleased to repose sufficient trust in me, for the access of my children to me, in any place where I shall think convenient; whereby the world may gather that either my children are not so obedient as they ought to be, or else that I am less able to govern them than any of my servants. Great indeed is the discomfort which this prohibition causes me. As to any doubt her Majesty should have of me, in my giving the Queen of Scots liberty to be seen, and saluted; hereby, my Lord, the reporters of the same to her Majesty have done me great wrong. It is true, that, at her first coming there, there happened to be a poor cripple in the lower apartment, unknown to all my people who guarded the place; and when she heard that there were women in the rooms above, she desired some good gentlewoman to give her a chemise, on which they put one down out of a hole in the wall to her. As soon as it came to my knowledge, I was offended both with her and my people for so doing; and, after that time, I took such precaution, that no poor people came into the house. On the second occasion mentioned, there was no stranger at Buxton, but only my own people that saw her, for I had given striet charge to the country about, that none should come in to behold her. Whatever may be thought of this Lady's delivering and receiving intelligence, to the gratification of several of her Highness's ignorant solicitors; for my part, I am sure that no other than such letters as pass to and from the French ambassador, can she get conveyed. Were it otherwise, God would so order it, that her devices would be discovered, and all her practises be turned to her own harm, and to the safety of our

gracious sovereign, whom I beseech the living God ever to defend by his divine providence against all the wicked inventions of her foes.

I should be very desirous to urge your Lordship once again to solicit her Majesty for liberty for me to go with my charge to Chatsworth, by reason of the sickness that has been in my house. But, considering how honourably you have dealt therein, I will no further press you, than you think fit. Unless I can obtain more liberty by your Lordship's good means, I must even content myself by remaining here at Sheffield with my charge.

January 30.—SHREWSBURY TO ———

Since writing my last letter to Mr. Secretary, I have received an answer from my Lord Treasurer, respecting the removal of my charge to Chatsworth. I perceive that her Majesty has no liking that she should be there, my daughter Talbot being so nigh her lying in. It seems that her Majesty has no liking that our children should be with us, where this Queen is; this is a great grief to us, as one of the greatest comforts of a father is to attend to the comforts of his children. I therefore beg of you, if you do not think it will be an offence to her Majesty, to find a favourable moment to solicit her Majesty that she would grant me leave to go to Chatsworth, during the time my house is undergoing a cleansing. Get permission that my children may come to me, without any offence or misliking on the part of her Majesty. If I am not allowed this favour, whenever I think good, they shall not enter within my doors. I pray your answer to this, and give me your advice therein.

points contained in my said letter,—that is, the avouching of so much as is contained in the same, and which I was requested to say here on her behalf; and secondly, the writing to her son to make some overture for the unkindness which is here conceived as to the refusal of her Majesty's messengers sent to Berwick, and such like actions, that then she might be assured that what she desires would be granted her. Wherefore your Lordship may deal more boldly and confidently with her; and if she will be pleased to send hither the letter which she shall send to her son in this behalf, it will be taken in very good part, and I dare under-

lowed to write to her son, was required to bind herself, either in writing, or by a verbal declaration to the Earl of Shrewsbury, to the performance of certain articles which we shall find in the next letter; in particular, for it was the point at which Elizabeth principally aimed, that she would persuade James to make an apology for having, [very properly] refused to receive the messengers sent to Berwick. In order to procure these concessions, Beale is directed to write a second letter to Shrewsbury, "in such sort as the same may be shown to the Scottish Queen." We have in that second letter a long repetition of his speeches to Elizabeth, but not one word of hers in answer. Mary was to have no security beyond Beale's phrases of "daring to undertake," and "verily thinking" that his mistress would grant her request. But even this degree of caution was not thought sufficient. In spite of all his care, some casual expression might possibly be construed into an engagement on the part of Elizabeth. Beale is therefore made to tell the Earl, that "nevertheless it is meant that she should not know but that it proceeded from himself only." Thus Mary was to be cruelly deceived; James betrayed into an act of meanness unworthy of a King; and Beale, who really seems to have acted with honesty, reported as the author of the wicked fraud. We shall see presently that Mary formed that opinion of him from his conduct in this affair.

Lodge.

take she shall have an answer thereto, with as much expedition as possibly may be. If otherwise she should attempt to send to him, or refuse to write, it would breed unkindness and jealousy, which I, for my part, seek to remove as much as I may, and therefore pray your Lordship to take the more pains to persuade her Grace, to condescend to satisfy in so small a matter her Majesty's expectation.

I have done what I can, and however things turn out, I have dealt uprightly, seeking as much as lay in me to do some good offices, and to forward friendship and amity; and for my poor credit's sake, should be loath, that, having been an instrument to accommodate things, they should be now overthrown for so small a matter as that now required at her Grace's hand. Your Lordship's humbly at command. ROBERT BEALE.*

Copy of the letter enclosed.

In my former letters I had acquainted your Lordship with what I had done respecting such matters as both the Scottish Queen and your Lordship had desired me to declare to her Majesty and the Lords here. Her Majesty has commanded me to repeat what I had told her before; this I did, signifying to her Highness, that I was desired by the said Queen, upon the word of a Princess and a Christian, to assure her Majesty, that in case it pleased her Highness to deal honourably and favourably with her and her son, her Grace would be content to condescend to

* Beale had married the sister of Walsingham's wife, under whose patronage he rose in Court. He was a bitter enemy to the Catholics, and somewhat of a puritan; and therefore well fitted for the office he filled in Mary's trial and execution.

any thing tending to her Majesty's safety and good liking. That she desired above all things her Majesty's favour and friendship, which she would prefer above all others, and make an open demonstration against all that might seek to disturb the quietness of her Majesty's estate and realm; and that she and her son, leaving all dealings with foreign Princes and estates, should help to suppress such practises as are resorted to under their titles and names; so that these two realms, being joined in perfect friendship, would be a stay to each other, &c.

And, to the intent her Majesty might have no occasion to doubt any collusion or conniving herein, I told her that her Grace offered to make her Highness privy to such instructions as the party she meant to send should carry; that she was content he should be accompanied thither by some of her Majesty's servants, and that nothing should be done without their privity, &c.

The other difficulty was a point of honour, wherein her Majesty feels herself somewhat touched. A messenger being sent expressly by her Majesty to Berwick, the King and his Council refused to admit him; and he [the King] continues in a misliking of the English nation, which in truth does him no good. I remember that her Grace, in some speeches to me, expressed her dislike of this, and wished her son to be addicted to no factions or partialities; and offered to do what she could to heal matters between her Majesty and him. Now, desirous as I am, that my negociation may have some success, for the service of her Majesty, and the quiet of both realms, I shall be the bolder to discover to your Lordship what I think the readiest way to bring to pass what her Grace so earnestly

desires. If, therefore, it would please her by some letter to her son, *to engage him to send some messenger hither, or letter, in courteous and amiable sort, to excuse the reproach of the messenger sent to Berwick*, it would do much good, and serve for an entrance to procure such licence for her Grace to send into Scotland as she has required, and, on my conscience, I think it could not then be denied her.

I beseech the Lord that I may be an instrument to do some good; and I pray your Lordship to persuade her Grace not to make any difficulty in these two points, but procure that they may be done with speed; and, as I have not hitherto sought by any cunning to deceive her Grace, so I trust now she will perceive that I have dealt honestly and uprightly in her behalf. I will not, at present, trouble your Lordship with some petty matters contained in a memorial delivered to me by Monsieur Nau, as no difficulty will be made in it, if the other be brought to bear; and therefore her Grace need make no scruple but that she will receive as much favour as may be conveniently looked for.

[In Mary's famous letter of the 8th of November following, we shall see her remarks upon the result of the application thus made to her, in which, as usual, she was made the dupe of hollow pretences.]

April 20.—SHREWSBURY TO BURGHLEY.

It will not be unknown to you, that my allowance for this Lady, my charge, has been reduced. I have made suit to her Highness for some recompense, but find such cold comfort, that I am nearly driven to despair of obtaining any thing.

I therefore appeal to your Lordship, as my dearest friend, to seek your fatherly advice, and inquire what is best to be done by me. As to my coming up, I have written daily on that subject to Mr. Secretary, and can obtain nothing satisfactory.

June 12.—SHREWSBURY TO BURGHLEY.

I have long been a suitor to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, that it would please her Highness to grant me, in fee farm, some lands in recompense of my services in guarding this Lady, my charge, as also in recompense of the default of my former allowance.

But I find such delays, that I am nearly in despair of attaining to any thing, and therefore flee to your Lordship; desiring you, that, upon motion made by Mr. Secretary, it may please you to further my suit. —My Lord of Cumberland and the rest are departed from Buxton, and therefore I am preparing to go thither with my charge.*

June 27.—SHREWSBURY TO BURGHLEY.

I have before written to you respecting my suit to her Majesty for land in fee farm, which has now been a good while depending. I perceive by Mr. Secretary, that her Majesty makes some difficulty

* Tradition says that Mary on her departure, wrote with her diamond ring the following Latin distich on a pane of glass of the Inn of that place:

Buxtona, quæ tepidæ celebrabere numine lymphæ,
Buxtona, fortè iterum non adeunda, vale!

Buxton, in whose fam'd springs health loves to dwell,
Buxton, whom I may see no more, farewell!

on this point, which is no small grief to me, and the more so as it is known abroad that I have attempted such a suit. Should it be refused, together with a deduction of a great part of the former allowance I had for the diet of this Lady, it would redound infinitely to my discredit, and touch me nearly in my honour. I therefore hope that her Majesty will have some regard to me, and not altogether forget the faithful performance of my long, painful, and perilous service to her, nor leave me the only unfavoured servant of hers, who has never tested the fruits of her Grace's bounty, as all the rest have done; as for instance, my Lord Scrope, who, though employed not over a year in this selfsame service, was handsomely recompensed. None of my ancestors were ever employed in their Prince's service, who, as a memorial of their loyalty, have not been bountifully rewarded; tokens of which they have kept to their posterity. And though, my Lord, I know well, that you may not so conveniently deal with her Majesty as a suitor in such cases, by reason of your office, yet do I know that her Majesty will confer with you on the state of her lands, and ask your advice in such matters; and then I nothing doubt but that you will prudently advise her, as regards her honour. I most earnestly entreat your Lordship, that, as heretofore I have ever found you my honourable good friend, so in this you will deliver your favourable opinion to her Majesty, and then do I assure myself she will out of hand grant it. I am loath thus to importune you and her Majesty, and were I only in her presence, I think I should scarcely open my mouth, but that her Majesty would have gracious consideration of me. Thus my Lord, it lying in your power to bind

me and mine to acknowledge ourselves for ever beholden to you, and not forgetting my wife's hearty recommendations, I commit you to the Almighty.

June 28.—BEALE TO SHREWSBURY.

The Saturday after I left your Lordship, I came to court, and delivered to her Majesty the letters of which I was the bearer. I declared to her Highness what was contained in your Lordship's and Mr. Chancellor [Mildmay's] letter, and what you wished me to report concerning the late negociation. It seemed that her Majesty wished to take some deliberation therein; I have, therefore, imparted the substance of the whole matter to my Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Leicester, Mr. Vice-chamberlain [Hatton] and Mr. Secretary [Walsingham]; whom I earnestly solicited to procure an answer, as the term prescribed for that Lady draws nigh to an end. I know not what will be the success; yet the French ambassador, who had audience on Monday last, has sent me word that her Majesty told him I should shortly be despatched back with a message that would be acceptable to that Lady; but as yet I hear of no determination come to. The Lord grant that it may be for good. I will do what I can to procure a good answer, and that with speed. I delivered to her Majesty your Lordship's letter and message, with which her Highness seemed to rest satisfied.

July 12.—SHREWSBURY TO BALDWIN.

I herewith send you a bill that M. Nau delivered to me, wishing you to receive it for the Scottish Queen, as appears by the acquittance enclosed; yet, before you deal therein, know Mr. Secretary's mind, whether you shall receive it or not. She declares

that she is in great want of money.—I am sorry you have put no more in execution, but stay till Michaelmas term. I have been greatly abused by them [his tenants], and my riches they talk of are in other men's purses. God knows I make many shifts to keep myself out of debt, and to help my children, who are heavy burdens, though comfortable ones, so long as they do well. I can say no more; but this I know, I have spies here about me, and know them well: if they spoke out their minds honestly, I could better endure it. But "little said, soonest mended;" and so I make an end.

July 30.—WALSINGHAM TO SHREWSBURY.

The French ambassador having had audience of her Majesty, delivered to her letters from the Queen of Scots, to herself, and to the Lords of the Council, containing a complaint directed to the said Lords, that, for want of common determination, and from various unnecessary delays, the matter treated of last winter by Mr. Beale was put off. She had, therefore, thought good, upon a letter lately received from her son, to remind their Lordships of the sincerity with which she had proceeded therein, and the desire she has for the good and repose of this Island. Now as this has not been acknowledged, to her satisfaction, she thought good to lay the matter before them, to serve as her discharge from any matter that may hereafter be laid to her account by the Queen's Majesty. In answer thereto her Majesty thinks fit that you should let her understand, first: That she finds it strange that she should direct her letters to the council, as to principal members of the Crown,—for so she terms them in her letters; a course heretofore not held, of which her Majesty

cannot otherwise conceive, than that she doth not repute her to be so absolute, that, without the assent of such as she terms "principal members of the Crown," she cannot direct her policy*; or else, that upon the charge of delay in satisfying her [Mary's] requests, she [Elizabeth] were to be called to account by them. Of this misunderstanding of the said Queen in regard to the absoluteness of her Majesty's government, she thinks proper that she should be better informed by your Lordship. For though her Highness bears as great a regard for her council, as any of her progenitors have done, and has just cause so to do, in respect of their wisdom and fidelity; yet she is to be given to understand, that they are counsellors by choice and not by birth, whose services are no longer to be used than it shall please her Majesty to dispose of the same; and, therefore, her Majesty cannot conceive to what end a complaint should be made to them, unless she repute her [Elizabeth] to be in the minority, or mean to use her Council as witnesses against her. As to the matter of delay wherewith she finds herself so greatly grieved,—her Majesty supposes that if she could call to remembrance that the only impe-

* Despotism usually masks itself with a kind of decency: here we see it stand naked and undisguised before us. We behold a minister openly avowing the absolutism of his Queen, and humbly confessing his own nullity. In the instance before us, Elizabeth appears to have forgotten that the argument she is using cuts two ways; that the absolutism in question claimed by herself, might equally be claimed by the Queen of Scots: and then the question would naturally present itself,—By what right did she interfere in this high privilege of a sister Queen, nay, act in direct violation of what she considered so sacred?

diment has solely arisen from the King's refusal to receive her minister, she would have had more reason to blame her son than her. And as she earnestly desires that the former intent of sending into Scotland should take place; her Majesty would have you let her know, that, considering the contents of the King her son's letter, she does not see how, either in reason or honour, she can send to the said King, so long as his ear is possessed by counsellors who lead him to form so sinister a conceit of the sincere meaning of a Princess, who, as she calls the world to witness, has by her actions towards him deserved at his hands a more thankful requital of her benefits, than he seems disposed to yield her. And, therefore, if she be not suffered to send to the said King, whereby may ensue good for the commonweal of both realms, the blame is not to be laid upon her Majesty, but upon the King himself, or rather upon the ill counsellors that are about him; who, by their persuading him to carry himself thus unthankfully, and with so little respect to her Majesty, are themselves the cause why the said Queen's desire to be licensed to send into Scotland, cannot be satisfied. But when her Majesty shall understand that the King shall conceive a better opinion of her disposition towards him,—though the unthankful requital of former favours might with reason discourage her from any further dealings with him, still her Highness will not fail to concur with the said Queen, in any such course as may tend to the preservation of his person, and the continuance of the realm in quiet.

August 5.—SHREWSBURY TO WALSINGHAM.

I have communicated to this Queen the contents

of your last. As soon as she heard that her Majesty was offended that she had directed her letters and complaints to the Council,—as if in all things her Majesty had not an absolute authority over them, she cut me short, telling me that it was enough for her to enter no further into the matter with me, as I was not one of the said Council. She added, that, desiring sincerely to satisfy her Majesty in these causes, as in all other things, she was determined to deal directly with her Majesty's self; wishing to have an answer from herself, if it was her Majesty's pleasure to do so much for her. She told me that the reason of her writing to the whole of the Council was this, that some of the same, by way of excuse for the delays in answering her requests, had told the French ambassador, that the said answer depended on the joint determination of the whole Council, and not on their particular advice. Proceeding to read to her the rest of your letter, she replied briefly, that she was very sorry her Majesty was no better satisfied with her son, whose refusal might be interpreted as having a reference to his enemies in this realm, and not of any doubt he had of her Majesty. In conclusion, she told me, that, for her own part, she had done towards her Majesty what had been in her power, and towards her son all that had been permitted her to do, to bring things to a good agreement. She said that she should always be ready to follow her Majesty's good advice, when her good will went along with it.

As for my journey, I thank you heartily for your good advice, and accordingly will immediately write to her Majesty, desiring nothing more in this world than to enjoy her Majesty's gracious presence. But, good Mr. Secretary, pray obtain a speedy determina-

tion as regards my request, for if within this month I am not on my journey, I greatly fear that the old enemy of my health [the gout] will cross my path. As a substitute for the care of my charge, in my absence, I think that Mr. Wortley, one of the Council of York, and my neighbour, a gentleman both wise and of very good credit in the country, will be able to supply it.

Aug. 10.—Of this date, there is a letter to Cardinal Allen, which breathes the most pious sentiments, and is expressive of her great zeal for the Catholic faith.*

1581, *Jan.* 15.—In a "Remonstrance to the Queen of England," of this date, the Queen of Scots says: "Upon the assurance of the said Queen her good sister, sent by a gentleman express, with a special token, she did, of her own free will, render herself as to her refuge and safe harbour in the realm; and that, notwithstanding her detention, and the treatment which she hath therein received, as well for her person, as for her affairs here and in Scotland, she has never desisted by all good offices, by patient endurance, and,—if it must be said,—by subjection, to merit the good grace and amity of the said Queen, her good sister, and serve both her private interests and those of the commonweal. And though her enemies by divers attempts on her life, and by all sorts of injuries, indignities, and rigours, have done what they could to give her occasion to behave

* This and several other letters of Mary are in MS. in the British Museum. Mr. Ellis, the keeper of the manuscripts, has had the kindness to promise the writer copies of these precious documents, but he has to regret that they have not arrived in time for publication.

to the contrary, and by that means withdraw her from the entire and sincere affection which she bears and will bear, so long as she lives, to the said Queen, her good sister; yet will she never cease to cultivate that amity, and mutual intelligence which are for the good of both.

That if there be any who dare maintain the accusations given out daily against the Queen of Scotland by her enemies, or who prying curiously into her actions, would seek to impose upon her any practises made to the prejudice thereof, or of the said Queen, her good sister; she prays most earnestly that the Lords of Parliament will give free audience against all such accusers as shall offer themselves, that the truth of their accusations may appear before so honourable an assembly, to whom the said Queen of Scotland is, and will be ever ready to give a particular account of all actions touching this realm.

May 1.—The Queen of Scots to Castelnau.

Though I ought not to trouble you with any thing concerning myself individually, amidst your many great and important negociations, yet I am compelled to do so at this moment in regard to my treatment in this captivity. Notwithstanding all the promises made me, and which were renewed in their last letters, no orders have been given respecting me, as the Earl of Shrewsbury frankly confessed, when I spoke to him on the subject. Let me beg of you to learn the intention of the Queen of England on this point, especially as regards permission for my exercise, of which I stand much in need, requiring either a couch or litter to take the air, having become so feeble and weak, especially in my extremities, that I am unable, though better in health than I have

been these six months past, to go a hundred yards on foot; so much so, that since Easter last, I have been obliged to be carried in an arm chair. This, as you may judge, is very inconvenient, having so few servants proper for such office. You will likewise be pleased to renew the solicitation formerly made by you for passports for my Lord Seaton, and Lady Lethington,* and others of their rank, to come and assist me on this occasion, as also for two waiting women and two valets de chambre; it not being possible in the weak state into which I have fallen through bad treatment for some years past, to be helped and served by the few servants I have, in the manner necessary for me, and conducive to the honour of the Queen, my good sister. As to my household expenses, the Earl of Shrewsbury told me lately that he was very much offended at the complaints, which he said you had made in my name, by which he said that his honour was compromised. I answered him that I could not believe you had spoken in that style, as well in respect to the regard he had for you, and from my never having given him any instruction on that head, having spoken only in general terms, of my whole position here. Do me the pleasure to confirm this to him, in the first letter you write.

I thank you for the good news you send me of my son, whom I desire to be no less affectionate to the Queen, my good sister, than she is attentive to his

* It will not be forgotten that this Lady was one of the four Maries, the companions of the youthful years of the Queen of Scots. The reader has already seen Lady Lethington, the Mary of Fleming of 1550, deploring the fate of her husband, the talented but unprincipled Maitland.

preservation and mine, against our rebel subjects in Scotland, and our party-enemies in this kingdom. If, in general, the Queen is not satisfied with the present government of Scotland, let her recollect the little share that has been allowed me in the affairs of that country, since the time that, by the favour of I know not what traitors, I was unjustly dispossessed of the lawful authority which I ought to have had there. And to give the Queen, my sister, a complete proof of the extreme desire I have to cultivate her friendship both for myself and my son, if it please her to permit me to send to him one of my servants, in company with such of hers as she shall please to appoint, without the presence and knowledge of whom, I agree that mine shall negociate nothing, I offer my endeavours to bring affairs to a good accommodation, and to establish, for the time to come, a good and perfect understanding between us; hoping from the good natural disposition of my son, that my credit with him will contribute something to this; more, at least, than when the poor child was held captive under the tyranny of the wicked Morton, and was inhumanly constrained to forget the obligations which he was under to me.

The Queen of Scots to M. D'Humieres.

May 16.—*My good Friend*,—Since the death of the late King, your good master, I could never get any intelligence of you, till a short time since, when Ralbay gave me news of you, and that you were still in good health, as he had learned from your worthy brother, M. de Baieulx. He assured him that you had made many inquiries about me, and I cannot allow so good an occasion as that of my Chancellor's return, to pass without my acknow-

ledgments to you for the same. I am moved to command him to make you a visit on my part, and place in your hands the present letter. I congratulate myself that you are to be more a neighbour of mine; nor do I think that this will be disagreeable to you, considering the old acquaintance between us, and what I had the honour to be to you with respect to the late King your master, since whose death it seems to me that I have not found friendship, or acquaintance even, in these new courts, except on the part of those who were of the number of his friends, who are almost all dispersed at present. In a word, I could not have heard of any neighbour with whom I could have been more content, as the bearer of this will tell you, to whom I beg you to give credit as to myself. And in whatever he shall have need of your favour and counsel for my service, I am confident that you will assist him, and that henceforth, through his means, I shall have news of you, and you of me. I conclude with my affectionate commendations to you and to your lady; praying God, M. D'Humieres, to give you health and long life.

August 5.—SHREWSBURY TO ELIZABETH.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,—Having for these ten years past been secluded from your most gracious sight and happy presence, which grieves me more than any labour or inconvenience I have suffered in the charge that it has pleased your Majesty to put me in trust withal, I have taken the boldness most humbly to beseech your Majesty that it may please the same to give me liberty for a fortnight's journey towards your Majesty's royal per-

son; to the end that you may receive certain account of my said charge, and thereby know what my deservings are. If in this respect I may, as I most earnestly desire, satisfy your Majesty, it will be a great encouragement to me to continue the faithful duty and careful service I owe your Majesty, and shall yield to my life's end. And thus, most humbly taking my leave, I cease farther to trouble your most excellent Majesty, whom I beseech our Lord long to preserve in health, and to enrich with all endless felicity.

September 10.—At last we find Shrewsbury fairly on his way to the capital, to offer his homage to the great idol of his loyalty. Elizabeth's love for finery is well known, and that the Earl was determined not to be wanting in the outward and visible signs of a gallant, we learn from his instructions to his man Baldwin. "I would have you talk with my tailor, and devise me some jerkin of such pretty silk as may be light, and easy to wear upon my doublet, under my gown or cloak; or else let it be of some perfumed leather, with satin sleeves, as the fashion is; in which I would have you take my son Savile's advice. I would also have you remember my chamois jerkin, and hose for winter; but I would have no silver nor gold lace upon it, but some pretty silk lace, and perfumed." Dated the 15th of the same month, we have "A memorable testimonial by Queen Elizabeth and the Lords of her Council, on behalf of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, as to the faithful discharge of his duty and trust in the custody of the Queen of Scots." Having received "this testimony of a true and loyal nobleman, he took his place as Councellor at the board."

October 18.—SHREWSBURY TO WALSINGHAM.

Your good favour to me emboldens me to discover to you the great grief of my mind, having heard of late that her Majesty has expressed some very hard conceits of me. They have in a great measure arisen from that notoriously lewd fellow, who, as your Honour knows, has already falsely accused me. The truth is, that it pleased her Majesty upon some occasion to tell me how wonderfully God had preserved her from the malice of her enemies. As an example, she told me, that, having on a time had notice of a man who had undertaken something against her sacred person, his stature and some scars of his face being described to her, she happened in one of her progresses, to discover that man among a multitude of others: yet not being alarmed at the view of him, she called my Lord of Leicester, and pointing out the party to him, he was apprehended and found to be the same. Now this wicked serpent, Corker [*see vol. i.* 279,] added, that thereupon I said, that her Majesty thought herself a goddess, that could not be touched with the hands of man; whereas I never uttered any such thing, nor any whit more than her Majesty's own sacred mouth pronounced to me. With respect to some other things with which I was charged, her Majesty was pleased to promise me, the last time I ever enjoyed the comfort of her private speech, that she would never condemn me without first calling me to answer the charge. If any thing since that time has come to her Majesty's ears, I most humbly on my knees beseech her, according to her sacred word, to be called to answer for the same.

Among other false accusations there have also

been some regarding my undutiful respects to the Queen of Scots. But I am able to prove that she has shown herself an enemy to me and to my fortune; and that I trust will sufficiently clear me. I humbly beseech you, sir, to mediate for me to her Majesty, that it will please her to behold me with the eyes of her sweet compassion. Let me either clear myself, or else be forever rejected as a castaway. I am by birth, and so left by my ancestors, a true loyal subject, and so will I ever live and die. Once again I beseech you from the bottom of my afflicted spirit, to be earnest with her Majesty for me.

These letters, conceived in such abject terms, were evidently intended for the eye of Elizabeth. It was the taste of the Virgin Queen to be flattered by such homage.

The good Bishop of Ross, though now removed to a distance from his royal mistress, omitted no opportunity of alleviating the sorrows of the royal sufferer. The following letter to her does honour to his head and his heart.

Madame,—When I have related to many in what miseries you are sunk, and with what frauds ensnared, and with what calamities encompassed, they have been most sensibly affected therewith. But when they understood that all this befel you on account of the Catholic faith; when they heard how constantly you adhered thereto, and how magnanimous you had shown yourself in defending it, they did not then so much lament your misfortunes, as, laying aside their grief, congratulate your piety, constancy, and greatness of soul. And in very truth, who can call you miserable, whom Christ has called happy? for "blessed are they who suffer

persecution for justice' sake." If Christ has called them blessed who suffer in his name, and who in patience possess their souls, why should you be called or thought to be miserable? The evenness of mind with which you bear your sufferings, can spring from nothing but that virtue which has descended into your heart from above, and occupied all your thoughts. You have learned to estimate things not with human sense, but by the divine mind. When I see your mind thus strengthened with patience, joyful in afflictions, free in the strictest custody, and happy in the greatest miseries, you seem in virtue to surpass the age in which you live. And although I do not see, weighing things in the balance of men, why we should hope; yet, when I turn my thought and heart to God, I am induced to think that there is no cause why we should despair. Bearing all things for God's sake, I see not, most noble Queen, why you should sink under present evils. The same God that delivered David from the grievous vexations of Saul, Manasses from the loathsomeness of his prison, and St. Paul from the cruel rage of Nero, can restore you to the state, and the church both to the state and you. Why should you be discouraged and broken in mind? Did not the same God restore to liberty Malcolm, and the Bruces, and your great grandfather James, and others your ancestors, kept in strict prison in England, restoring to them more ample honours than they had possessed before? Go on, therefore, courageously, most pious Queen, and hope for better things from their example. Continue, then, seriously and constantly ever to do that, which with the greatest praise you now do; and of which I have often conferred with you, both absent by letter, and

present by word of mouth. For this purpose, when I thought the reading of history would be of great moment, I sent you the history of the affairs of former Kings, which I had written in English, while I was your ambassador in England. But when the calamities of the time had excluded me from the public offices of the state, I was unwilling in my leisure to be idle, and therefore I have put into Latin what I hastily wrote in English, but have more carefully digested, for the benefit of our people, the whole history of the age past into one volume. This I now send you, that you may thence select examples, whereby more and more to inflame your heart to the studies of piety and religion, admiring the virtues of your ancestors, and practising them in your own person. Another profit that may also flow from this our labour, is, that he your son, a prince of good hope and parts, (which in our daily prayers we humbly beg of God may be safe to our state and salutary to the church of Christ), may draw thence examples of vices for him to shun, and of virtues for him to follow. Since you cannot do the office of a parent in his regard, nor be present with him, yet will you diligently procure that he should walk after the steps of his parents in the studies of religion and virtue. If he be slack, stir him by letters and writing; if he runs, excite him more and more.

The warm eulogium of his royal mistress, with which the worthy Bishop terminates his admirable "Defence of Mary's honour," may find its place here.

Though the Queen of Scots has not gained the two principal suits moved and required at her first coming into England, which were, aid to recover

her Kingdom, and permission to return freely thither; yet, in the meantime, she has conquered such high points, tending to her honour and advancement, as are more to be respected than any other advantages. By her long residence in England, she has given such proofs and testimony of her princely and natural inclination to all goodness and honesty, by her virtuous and godly conversation and behaviour, her firm and quiet patience in suffering adversity and trouble many ways, keeping nevertheless a princely magnanimity and constant courage, even in the eye and observance of her enemies, and in the midst of their rudeness and violence, that she hath blotted quite away all the calumnies of surmises revealed and spread abroad for her dishonour, before her coming into England. Time hath now so tried the truth, that the Queen, my Sovereign, and her cause is most lovingly embraced by the greatest princes in Christendom, and by the nobility, gentry, and commons of England, not only by favour shown in words, but also by the virtuous hazard of their lands, goods, and lives, for her honourable advancement and relief; which they never would have done, unless moved thereto by a good opinion of her, conceived and rooted in their conscience, and grounded on the justice, honesty, and uprightness of her cause, and by the increase of her troubles and persecutions, by which their friendship for her is more augmented and confirmed.—Nor will I, in the meantime, cease to labour, as far as my simple powers go, for the defence of the Queen, my mistress's honour, though her own princely conduct has made the same to shine as a star amidst the clouds of affliction that have gathered around her, so that there needs no herald to blazon her renown."

CHAPTER VI.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS IN SHEFFIELD CASTLE.

ÆTAT. 39.—1582 TO 1584.

Historical Outline—Mary's correspondence with the Queen of England—with her Son—with the French Court—The Countess of Shrewsbury, her character, and treatment of the Queen of Scots.

To the Catholics of England, the late revolution in Scotland [*See vol. i.* 130.] had opened a cheering though fallacious prospect. Groaning under the pressure of penal laws, and hopeless of relief from Elizabeth, they naturally looked forward to the probable succession of James to the English throne. By the hostility of Morton they had been debarred from access to the King; the opposite policy of the party now in power encouraged them to assure their monarch of their attachment to the claim of the House of Stuart, and to express a hope that when providence should place the sceptre of England in his hands, that he would extend the benefits of toleration to the best friends of his mother and himself. The more zealous carried their views further. James had scarcely reached his fifteenth year; it was hoped that better influences, and particularly

that of his pious mother, would work upon his heart, and that they might yet hail with joy his conversion to the faith of his fathers. To forward these views, Waytes, an English priest, and afterwards Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit, repaired to Scotland. They were received with kindness by the King and his principal ministers, and returned to the continent, carrying to the supporters of Mary and her son, flattering, though perhaps insincere promises of the royal favour. Consultations were held by them, and it was agreed that Mary and James ought to be associated on the throne of Scotland, as joint king and queen; that, to consolidate their interests, an agreement between them should be signed, and that the foreign powers should relieve the pecuniary wants of the young King.

In the meantime, these projects did not escape the vigilant eye of Elizabeth, and under her auspices a new revolution was organized in Scotland, the object of which was to defeat these plans. This was no other than the famous "Raid* of Ruthven." It was effected as follows. On the 23d of August, 1582, the Earl of Gowrie invited the King to his Castle of Ruthven, under pretext of a hunting-party. There he was joined by the principal protestant nobility, and others attached to Elizabeth's faction. On his arrival, James found all these persons armed; he became apprehensive of some bad intention, and made a movement as if to leave the Castle. He was given to understand that he would not be permitted to do so, and as he approached the door, the Tutor of Glamis, a rude stern man, placed

* *Raid* signifies a predatory inroad; it grew to signify any assembly in arms for a violent purpose.

his back against it. Affronted at this act of violence and insult, the young King burst into tears. "Aye, let him weep on," said the fierce noble who barred his passage; "better that *bairns* [children] should weep, than bearded men!" They then presented to him a remonstrance, in which after complaining of the oppression and persecutions exercised by the King's favourites upon his faithful subjects, they charged them with involving the King in plots and confederacies with the Pope, the King of Spain, and foreign Catholics; with holding correspondence with the bishops of Glasgow and Ross, the adherents of his mother, by whom he was urged to effect her freedom and associate her with himself in the royal authority. James was compelled to accede, as well as to dissemble his mortification at hearing Sir Henry Carey and Sir Robert Bowes congratulate him, on the part of Elizabeth, for his deliverance from the counsels of bad men. The Scottish Lords of the English faction ruled again without controul; and the preachers from the pulpit pointed the resentment of their hearers against the men who had aimed at restoring an idolatrous worship, and to replace an adultress and an assassin on the throne.

In the meantime, to use the language of Sir Walter Scott, the mother of James, though without any reason assigned other than the will of Queen Elizabeth, remained an unpitied prisoner, sometimes in the house of one nobleman, sometimes in that of another; all sensible that they offended the queen if they treated the royal captive with any thing approaching to indulgence; and under the necessity, besides, of incurring considerable personal expense, which their sovereign Elizabeth seldom dreamed of reimbursing in an adequate degree. An active mind,

and an early practice of feminine pursuits, a turn towards religion, for which she was, in part, indebted to adversity, with the power of studying and writing in various languages, enabled Mary to endure, with more than female constancy, the long succeeding years of her weary imprisonment. Hope, originally her frequent visitor, began to be less frequent in his attendance. As her places of residence were changed, her train was abated, the marks of honour rendered to her former rank were abridged, and her apartments, defended with bolts and filled with armed warders, bore more and more the undisguised air of a prison-house; and the question was not as at first, how long her confinement should last, but merged in the darker inquiry, how or when she was to be relieved by death.

In the mean time, the fate of the Scottish Queen, as it was sometimes the object of censure, and often of regret, among the most attached subjects of Elizabeth, stimulated to hopes and to enterprise the Roman Catholics of England, a numerous party, who could not be insensible to the sufferings of a princess of their own religion, even if she had not, in their opinion, possessed a title to their allegiance better than any which existed in the person of her oppressor. Repeated plots, discovered by the wisdom of Elizabeth's counsellors, had almost always for their object the liberation of Queen Mary, and were usually connected with some scheme for placing her on the British throne. The anxieties and perplexities in which Elizabeth was thus involved, were not the more easily endured that they might be considered as the consequences of her own injustice.

In former days, Mary, living in freedom and hap-

piness in her own kingdom, might be to Elizabeth an object of inconvenient, yet only occasional rivalry; but, captive and forlorn, she was now perpetually brought before her in every form which could render the contrast painful: to speak fancifully, the Queen of England was somewhat in the situation of one who, having murdered his enemy, is ever after haunted by his spectre. The reflections upon her own injustice, and upon the effect which it was likely to produce, made her entertain the most fantastic apprehensions of the extent of Queen Mary's faculty of seducing, and the apprehensions of her rival's powers over her own most chosen favorites. She had seen Norfolk, and other nobles of undoubted faith, 'shoot madly from their spheres,' as the poet expresses it, attracted by the charms of a suffering queen and a captive beauty. Shrewsbury, on whom she long imposed the unwelcome office of Mary's keeper, at his several Castles of Tutbury, Chatsworth, Wingfield, and others, could not, though old and faithful, escape the suspicions of his royal mistress any more than those of his jealous Countess: both suspected him of too much favor for the royal prisoner; and reproaches from court, and domestic ill humour were the consequence of the slightest indulgence extended to his captive.

Thus all that was dangerous, distasteful, and prejudicial to Elizabeth, came by degrees to be mixed up with her idea of her prisoner Mary, until dislike increased into hatred, and hatred joined with fear became fierce enough, like the Indian snake-god in Madoc, to demand a victim.

These considerations may account, though they cannot apologise, for the principles on which Elizabeth acted towards Mary, and in which the greatest

queen that ever sat upon the throne of England, or, perhaps, upon that of any other country, seems to be actuated at once by the jealousy of power incidental to the most ambitious mind, and by the peevish envy of a disposition proper to the lowest female. It was not the least part of the distress and inconvenience inflicted upon Queen Mary, that her place of confinement was repeatedly changed, upon the slightest suspicion that the neighbourhood was friendly to her; and that some cause of alarm was always arising, and to such Elizabeth was sensibly accessible.

The progress of these varied events will be traced in the letters and journals, which we now hasten to lay before the reader.

November 28.—For several weeks poor Mary had been kept in close confinement, that the seizure of her son's person, an event so fatal to her hopes, might be concealed from her knowledge. When the news at last reached her, it alarmed her maternal tenderness and augmented the indisposition under which she was labouring. She seemed to read in her own history the fate which awaited her son, and from her sick bed wrote Elizabeth the celebrated remonstrance, the feeling eloquence of which goes home to every heart.

The letters of Mary, says Robertson of Dalmeny, "are numerous, able and eloquent. Among them is particularly to be mentioned the letter to Elizabeth, on occasion of the captivity of her son; and the machinations against herself and him, abetted by the English Queen. No person can read that letter without a certain degree of astonishment. It is difficult to say, whether the pathetic, or the grand, shine most conspicuous. To it the admirers of

Mary may refer, as a ground of their panegyric, whether considered in reference to the greatness of mind which it displays, the solemnity that reigns throughout, the piety which it breathes, the chain of arguments which is maintained; the eloquence with which it glows, or the bold and just reproach with which it fearlessly brands the English Queen."

The Queen of Scots to Elizabeth.

Madame,—The late conspiracies in Scotland against my poor child, and my fears for the consequence, grounded on my self-experience, call upon me to employ the remainder of my life and strength, fully to discharge my heart of my just complaints, which I do in the present letter. I trust that as long as you survive me, it may serve as an eternal testimony, and be engraven on your conscience, as well for my acquittance to posterity, as for the shame and confusion of all those, who, under your connivance, have up to this hour so cruelly and unworthily treated me, and reduced me to the extremity in which I am. But as their designs and practises, detestable as they are, have always prevailed against my just remonstrances and honest deportment; and as the power which you have in your hands has always been your justification in the eyes of men, I will have recourse to the living God, our only judge, who, under Him, has established us equally and immediately for the government of his people. I will invoke Him in the extremity of this my pressing affliction, to render to you and to myself (as He will do in the last judgment) the due of our merits and demerits one towards the other. And remember, Madame, that from Him we can disguise nothing by the paint and policy of the world;

though my enemies, under you, have been able, for a time, to cover from the eyes of men, peradventure from your own, their subtle inventions. In His name, and as it were before Him, seated between you and myself, I would remind you, that by means of the agents, spies, and secret messengers, sent in your name into Scotland, while I was there, my subjects were corrupted and encouraged to rebel against me, to make attempts against my person; in a word, to speak, undertake, and execute all that led to the troubles which have befallen my country.

During my imprisonment in Lochleven, the late Throgmorton counseled me, on your part, to sign that abdication, which he told me it was advisable to do, assuring me that it would not be valid. And nowhere in Christendom has it since been held as valid, or maintained as such, except by you, even to the assisting the authors of it by open force. On your conscience, Madame, would you have recognized an equal liberty and power in your own subjects? And yet by the same men has my authority been transferred to my son, and that too when he was incapable of exercising it. And when I afterwards sought lawfully to assure him of the same, he being of an age to act for himself, it was suddenly wrested from him and assigned over to two or three traitors; who having taken from him the effectiveness of it, will take from him, as they have from me, both the name and title, and perhaps his life, if God does not provide for his preservation.

When I had escaped from Lochleven, and was ready to give battle to the rebels, I remitted to you by a gentleman express a diamond ring, which I had formerly received as a token from you, under the assurance of being succoured by you against my

rebellious subjects; nay more, that should I seek refuge with you, you would come to the very frontier to assist me; and this was confirmed to me by diverse messengers.

This promise coming from your lips, and being repeated by you (though I had oftentimes found myself abused by your ministers), made me place such trust in you, that when my army was routed, I came directly to throw myself into your arms, had I been permitted so to do. But while I was deliberating about repairing to you, there was I arrested half way, surrounded by guards, secured in strong places, and at last reduced, all shame set aside, to the captivity in which I am now languishing, after the thousand deaths which I have already suffered from it. I know that you will alledge against me what passed between the late Duke of Norfolk and myself. I maintain that there was nothing therein to your prejudice, nor against the public good of your realm; and that the treaty was sanctioned by the advice and signatures of the first men then in your council, with the assurance of obtaining your approval. For a long time I have been trying whether patience would soften the rigour and ill-treatment, which for these ten years past they have made me suffer; I have strictly followed the order prescribed me in my captivity in this house, as well in regard to the number and quality of the servants retained by me, dismissing the others, as for my diet and ordinary exercise for my health. I am living till the present as quietly and peaceably as one much inferior to myself, submitting, in order to take away every shadow of distrust, to remain without any intelligence of my son and my country, which by no right or reason could

be denied me, especially in regard to my child, whom they laboured in every way to prejudice against me, in order to weaken us by our disunion.

In conclusion, a more unworthy treatment from day to day, in spite of all my efforts not to deserve it, together with my too long, useless, and pitiful patience, have reduced me so low, that my enemies, in their habit of treating me ill, have brought themselves to think that they have the right of proscription for so treating me, not as a prisoner, which in reason I cannot be, but as some slave whose life and death depended solely upon their tyranny.

I cannot, Madame, submit to it any longer. Either dying, I must discover the authors of my death, or living, attempt under your protection to put an end to the cruelties, calumnies, and traitorous designs of my enemies, in order to insure me for the remainder of my days somewhat more of rest and repose. To take away the pretended occasions of difference between us, inform yourself if you please, of the truth of all that has been reported to you relative to my conduct; review the depositions of the strangers taken in Ireland; let those of the Jesuits recently executed be represented to you; give liberty to those who would undertake to charge me publicly, and permit me to enter upon my defence. If any evil be found in me, let me suffer, which I shall do with patience when I know the occasion of it; if any good, through the high charge wherewith you are invested before God and man, suffer me not to be worse treated for it. The vilest criminals in your prisons, born under your jurisdiction, are admitted to their justification, and their accusers and their accusations are always declared to them. Why then, shall not the same order have place towards

me, a Sovereign Queen, your nearest relative and lawful heir? This last relation in which I stand to you, has, methinks, been hitherto the principal cause of all the calumnies devised against me by my enemies, to keep us in division, by insinuating between us their own unjust pretensions. But, alas! they have but little reason at present for thus tormenting me; for I protest to you upon mine honour, that I look this day for no other kingdom than that of my God, for which I feel that He is disposing me by those best of all preparations—suffering and affliction. There can be little temptation for me to ambition a crown, which hitherto has been to me but a crown of thorns.*

This, then, will be to you a monition to acquit your conscience towards my child, as to what shall belong to him after your death. In the meantime, do not countenance the continual practises and secret conspiracies which our enemies in this realm are daily devising for the advancement of their pretensions.

. . . And now, Madame, with all that freedom of speech, which I foresee may in some sort offend you, though it be nought but the truth; you will, I doubt not, find it more strange that I now come to you with a request of far greater importance, and yet very easy for you to grant me. It is, that not having been able hitherto, by accommodating myself patiently for so long a time to the rigorous treatment

* In a MS. Poem, of the sixteenth century, entitled "The Legend of Mary of Scots," is the following happy image:—

Like fruits upon Gomorrah's strand that grow,
False glory seems to be a heavenly thing,
But being touch'd is dust of golden show;—
So doth a crown delusive blessings bring.

of this captivity, and my carrying myself in all respects, even the least that regard you, to obtain any assurance of your good favour, or give you thereby some earnest of my entire affection towards you; and every hope being taken away of better treatment for the short time that is still left me to live, I supplicate you by the bitter passion of our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, to allow me to withdraw out of this realm into some place of repose; to seek out some comfort for my poor body, worn out as it is by continual sorrow; and with liberty of conscience to prepare my soul for God, who is daily calling me to Himself.

Believe me, Madame, or rather believe the physicians whom you sent me this last summer, as they have witnessed that I am not long for this world, so as to give you any foundation for jealousy or distrust of me. And yet you are free to receive from me such assurances, as well as just and reasonable conditions, as you may think necessary. In your hands is the power, and, as the strongest, you may still doom me to a confinement, which I little wish to escape. As you have had sufficient experience of my observance of my simple promises, nay, sometimes to my prejudice, as I showed you upon this point two years ago. Recollect if you please, what I then wrote to you, that nothing can bind my heart to you so strongly as kindness; and yet you continue to keep my poor body languishing between four walls, and that without the prospect of relief; ignorant it should seem of the fact, that persons of my rank and disposition are incapable of being gained over, or forced into compliance by any rigour. This imprisonment of yours, founded on no right or justice, has already destroyed my body, whose end

you will shortly see, and which will prevent my enemies from much longer glutting their cruelty upon me; as for my soul, that is my own, free and untrammelled: all your power cannot make that captive. Allow it, then, some breathing place, for aspiring a little more freely after its salvation, which is all it now seeks, indifferent to all the pomps and vanities of the world. It cannot, methinks, be any great satisfaction, honour, or advantage to you, to see my enemies trample me under their feet and humble me in the dust under your very eyes; whereas, if in this extremity, however late it may be, you release me from their grasp, you would bind me and all who belong to me in the strong bonds of affection, and more particularly my poor child, whom by such a measure you may, perchance, assure to yourself forever. I shall not cease to importune you with this request, till it be granted me; and, on this I pray you to let me know your intention, having now waited your pleasure for more than two years, to renew my entreaties for it, which I am compelled to do by the state of my health, which is worse than you, perhaps, have been led to imagine. In the meantime, provide, if you please, for the bettering of my treatment, that I may no longer suffer as I have done. Remit me not to the discretion of any other whatever, but do you yourself, to whom alone (as I wrote to you lately) I wish henceforward to stand indebted for all the good, or all the evil, that I am to receive in your country. Do me this favour, to let me have your determination in writing, or the French ambassador for me. As to abiding by what the Earl of Shrewsbury or others may say or write to you, I have had too much experience to place any reliance on them;

their slightest notion or fancy being sufficient to change to-morrow what may be done to-day.

Besides this, in reply to what I lately wrote to those of your council, you have given me to understand that I should not address myself to them but to you alone. It is surely not reasonable that these men should ill-treat me, merely and solely to extend their credit and authority, as they have lately done by these new restrictions, and whereby, contrary I doubt not to your intentions, I have been most unworthily treated. This gives me occasion to suspect that some of my enemies in your council have expressly contrived that the rest should remain ignorant of my just complaints, fearing perhaps that their compeers would not lend themselves to the wicked attempt against my life, or that, if they had knowledge of the same, they would oppose it for your honour, and through a sense of duty towards you. In a word, two things I have formally to require;—the one, that, approaching as I am the term of my mortal career, I may have near me for my consolation some honourable churchman, to remind me daily of the course I have to finish, that I may order my life according to my faith, in which I am firmly resolved to live and die. This is a last duty, not denied to the lowest and most wretched of mortals. The liberty of freely exercising their religion is what you grant to all foreign ambassadors, as Catholic Kings do in return to yours. As for myself, I never forced my own subjects to any thing contrary to their religion, though I had full power and authority over them: and that I, in this my extremity, should be deprived of such freedom, is a thing that you cannot in justice require. And what advantage will redound to you, if you refuse

me this request? I trust that God will excuse me, if being in this manner oppressed by you, I cease not to render Him such dutiful homage as in my heart I am permitted to do. Besides this, you are setting a very bad example to the other Princes of Christendom, teaching them to employ the same rigour towards their subjects, that you show towards a Sovereign Queen, and your nearest relative, and which I am and shall never cease to be, in despite of my enemies.

I have no wish now to importune you on the augmentation of my establishment, with which, for the short term of life that remains to me, I can well dispense. All that I ask of you, then, is two waiting-women, to attend me during my sickness; declaring before God that they are very necessary for me, and that it is no more than might be asked by a poor creature among the common people. In the name of God, grant me this request, and thereby show that my enemies have not so much credit with you against me, as to exercise their vengeance and cruelty in a point of so little moment, and connected with a simple office of humanity.

. . . Resume, Madame, the ancient pledges of your good nature; be again in heart and disposition what you were before; bind your relations to yourself, and grant me the satisfaction ere I die, to see every thing amicably adjusted between us, so that my soul, when delivered from this body, may not be compelled to pour forthwith lamentations before God, for the wrongs you will have suffered to be done me here below; but rather, that being in unison and peace with you, it may quit this captivity, to set forwards towards Him, whom I pray to inspire

you with a sense of my just and reasonable complaints.

Your very disconsolate nearest
relation, and affectionate cousin,
MARIE R.

At Sheffield, this 28th of November.

We are assured that this letter drew tears from the eyes of Elizabeth herself; and yet no answer was returned to this touching and dignified appeal to her feelings from a sister-queen.

It is a remarkable fact, that in Burghley's private journal, in which the minutest occurrences of the day are recorded, not a single syllable occurs relative to the Queen of Scots, later than the close of this year [1582]. In the MS. account of Burleigh's life, by one of his intimate friends, the same mysterious silence prevails. He durst not entrust his reflections to paper.

Thus conscience will make cowards of us all.

1583, *June 27th.*—JAMES TO QUEEN MARY, HIS MOTHER.

MADAME,—I have received the letter you were pleased to write to me, and which the Queen of England, my good sister, was pleased to permit to be sent to me. I see by it she has made a difficulty of allowing me to send one of your people, and this upon plea of one of hers having been lately refused, according to the orders you gave me. I have written to her to ask the reason why I cannot give permission for his coming to me at this time, but only after the closing of the parliament which I am now holding. I should be infinitely sorry that she should be of opinion that I did it in disdain of her,

never having had any other will, than to remain her good relative and neighbour, as I am determined to be according to the command you have been pleased to impose upon me, the which, and all others wherewith you shall be pleased to honour me, you will find me ready to carry into execution; and to honour and respect you, as God has commanded me, and to which natural duty obliges me. It will be a great consolation to me, if you will be pleased to make me so happy as to send and visit me by one of your people, in order to assure me of your prosperity and good health; and so, Madame, after kissing your hands, I pray God that he will give you a very good, and with it, a long and happy life.

From your very humble, and
obedient son for ever,
JAMES R.

From Sterling.

November 12.—THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO CASTLENAU.

SIR,—You are a better witness than any I know in this kingdom, with what sincerity I have conducted myself towards the Queen, my good sister, in all that has passed between her and me; with what solicitude I have endeavored to please her in all things, without giving room for the smallest umbrage with respect to my intentions and actions towards her; in a word, with what patience I have accommodated myself, for so many years, to the unworthy treatment of this unjust and rigorous captivity, so as oftentimes scarcely to allow myself to breathe, during the continual miseries and vexations I have endured, on purpose not to trouble the Queen, my good sister, with the same. It is now about four

years since, that, in the gentlest manner possible, I solicited her for my deliverance, seeing myself so afflicted by vexation of mind, and continual indisposition of body, which had taken so deep a seat within me, that I did not think of being able to outlive the ensuing winter. At her request, I ceased from my solicitations for two years, or thereabouts; when, seeing my malady increase, almost beyond the hope of cure, as her physicians testify, I was constrained to have recourse to her, to place me in a position more easy, as well for my spiritual as my bodily health. And lastly, to obtain this, I submitted last summer to such conditions, that there is not, I will not say a Christian Prince, but any statesman, who knows what it is to treat between princes, who would not deem them more than reasonable; and of this I am assured, that my own enemies, her subjects, and bound to her in all duty and obedience, would be very sorry to receive or to suffer the like. Notwithstanding all this, after having tried, under fine words and specious hopes, to draw from me all they could, on purpose afterwards to take advantage of it against myself and my son, I have remained not only unbenefitted in the least point treated of between me and the Deputies of the Queen, but even without answer or solution of my doubts and difficulties, up to this very day. I cannot but think this a very bad return for all my sincerity, patience, and submission; and in this manner, as it is not in my nature to tamper with inferior persons, or counteract the malicious and low purposes of the designing, the counsel of your deputies prevailed.

Still unwilling, however, to give way to the just disgust which the malice of my enemies was calculated to excite, and much less desirous to see my-

self abandoned by the Queen, my good sister, whose natural good disposition it has been attempted to pervert against me, I have found it necessary, as you will see by my late manifesto, to require a final determination upon the treaty between us. If before this reaches you, no answer be made to the same, you will, on my part, again propose to the Queen, my good sister, that, if by any means she thinks I can contribute to the advancement of friendship and good understanding between her, myself, and my son, for our mutual safety, and the common good of this island, I once more offer to engage in it sincerely, and to manifest an entire good will, provided on their part I shall be met by the same.

If to these offers and proposals, which I protest shall be the last I will ever make on the subject, no suitable return is made by the Queen, my good sister, and those of her Council, I submit it to their own judgment and consideration, and to that of all the Kings and Princes of Christendom, whether I have not, in all respects, acquitted myself of the entire duty, not only of a Queen and Sovereign Prince, such as I am, but of a very affectionate near relative, and as the captive of the Queen, my good sister. Nothing will remain for me afterwards, but to pray God, as I daily do, that He will please duly to direct her for her present good and for that of the kingdom for the time to come.

Your very good friend,

MARIE R.

From Sheffield.

Of the extent to which Elizabeth carried her jealousies and suspicions, striking proof is exhibited in a letter from Sir Edward Stafford, the English

ambassador in Paris, to Burleigh, dated Dec. 15, 1583. "I must needs make your Lordship acquainted with a word or two in a letter of Mr. Secretary, which Mr. Constable brought me yesterday, as he said, from her Majesty. It was very strange to me, that her Highness should command Mr. Secretary to write to me, that "she hoped, that, though they [some of the adherents of the Queen of Scotland] were allied with my wife, yet she had confidence in me, that I would discharge my duty in respect of the trust reposed in me." Truly, my Lord, I cannot think that the Queen [of Scots] has of herself any interest in me, but that it is an interest which some good friend of mine has sought to graft in her. What cause of mistrust have I given to think that any alliance of hers could draw me from the duty, in which I am bound to her, both by birth, as being her subject, and by duty, as being her servant in trust in this place? Truly, my Lord, I would have no man think, and I beseech your Lordship to do me the favour to assure her, that an alliance of my wife would hardly draw me to be negligent in looking after those who should enterprise any thing against her Majesty; for if my own brother had done any such thing, I protest, I would rather be his hang man, than he should remain unpunished."*

* The following is an amusing outbreak of the protestantism of this worthy Envoy. "I have had much ado, this *Fete Dieu*, for the keeping of my house unhanged [with tapestry]; but at length I had the victory, and would not permit them to hang an inch on any thing that belonged to me. In the end, they used all things very well, when they saw there was no remedy." A few days after he reverts to the same subject. "There was no remedy this day, but the King would needs

May 2.—E. STAFFORD TO BURGHLEY.

The troubles in Scotland annoy them [the Queen of Scots' party] greatly, but still more their fear lest the King [of Scots] may be brought by necessity to have intelligence with the Queen [of England], and become dependent upon her. I can gather by their extreme fear, that nothing more effectual could be

have my house to be hanged. I have been as earnest not to have it done, as ever I was for any thing since I came into France, debating it as a privilege broken. He says that others have had it before me, to avoid a meeting of the people, which he could not hinder. I stood with him, that my two predecessors had it not, and the Chevalier de Gret came, who affirmed it. The King made him set it down under his hand and seal, which I have sent you herein enclosed, which I know, of my own knowledge, once in Sir Amias Paulet's time, was false. I pray your Honour, that I may know her Majesty's pleasure in it, how she will have it taken at the King's hands; for my part, I take it for a breach of the privilege of her ambassador's honour, and as such I have protested it to them. They answer that *within*, the house is free, *without*, the house is the King's; I think, if they say true, their ambassador is to speak to the Queen's Majesty of it. If her Majesty deal roundly with him, I think it will do good the next time. If her Majesty think it good, Sir Henry Cobham may underneath his signature sign the truth, and that I may have it back again to show the King. If her Majesty think it good to let it slip, and go so hereafter, it is a thing her will must be obeyed in. But, for my part, it is against my will; and because they should not have their wills, the day before I gave up my house to the owner, and have taken a little lodging in a garden, till such time as I have Piquing-house, and will never come into the other again, that they may not say they have hung the English ambassador's house, while I am in it, which is all I can do till I know her Majesty's pleasure." Mr. Stafford grows quite magnanimous. Never was such resolute defiance bidden to the good old saw, of "doing at Rome, as Rome does."

done to cut their combs, than the said intelligence between the Queen and the King of Scots, if it were a thing in any way likely to take place. What use may be made of it, I leave to her Majesty and her honourable counsellors to determine. The Lord Seaton and the Archbishop of Glasgow, though they concur in public, do not well agree in private. In truth, the Lord Seaton is regarded as no very wise man, and yet very head-strong. His great pomp and prodigality at his first coming, is turned almost next door to penury, most of his silver vessels being already in gage, and the rest sold, and his train greatly diminished together with his good cheer. Besides, a sad disgrace has happened to him within these few days; serjeants came into his house to arrest all they could find for a debt of six hundred crowns, and before they would go out, he was obliged to show them his commission.

Paris.

James had the misfortune to be brought up in the midst of unprincipled scoundrels, not the least notorious of whom was the hireling libeller, Buchanan; yet in spite of all the unnatural efforts made to poison his mind against his mother, and crush the best feelings of his youthful heart, better influences were sometimes seen to break forth, as witness the letter we are about to cite.

1584. *July* 13.—The King of Scots to the Queen of Scots.

Madame,—This letter of the King, your son, to your Majesty, after having read and re-read it, and having nothing at present farther to add, he commands me to put into the ciphers which I brought

him from you, to serve between your Majesties. The mark, as below, will serve for the name of the King your son.

MADAME,—The little leisure I have will prevent my writing to your Majesty any other thing at present, than that I very humbly thank you for the honour and infinite favour that you have done me, in sending Fontenay, the brother of your Secretary Nau, to visit me, being the first who has done so by your orders since your captivity. I cannot express the great consolation it afforded me, having received from him various particulars of your situation, and especially of the true maternal affection that you are pleased to cherish in my regard, and which will urge me more than ever to correspond to the same, by humility, and obedience in fulfilling your command. The choice which it pleased your Majesty to make of the said Fontenay, and his conduct to the present, lead me to hope for perfect satisfaction on his part. Hitherto he has spoken to me only in general terms; he has declared but few particulars of your intentions, especially in regard to our perfect union and association, which, without fail, I shall carry into effect immediately after the return of my Lord Seaton. Fontenay informs me that he has received from the archbishop of Glasgow the letters patent and other articles, towards forwarding the objects and negociations that I have confided in him. In the meantime I shall engage, as far as in me lies, the will of our common subjects to ratify and accede to the terms of our said association.—Without other recommendations on your part, the sympathy and similarity of our natures, together with the sense I have of the injuries and treasons committed against you by Lord Lindsay, have decided me to make an

example of him, as I hope to do of his compeers, not allowing a single one to escape.—So soon as Fontenay shall inform me of the other particulars of his negociation, and especially relative to the secret instructions which your Majesty forbids me to reveal to any one, I shall not fail to write to you summarily my opinion upon all points, and take such measures in regard to your deliverance as it shall please you to prescribe. According to a plan which I have long since formed, your Majesty may rest assured that I will shortly send some of my people with Fontenay, to receive the holy benediction, and inform him of my intentions, as also to require of the Queen of England your deliverance, which I more ardently desire than any other happiness in the world. In a word, I promise your Majesty that you shall receive from me all the satisfaction that a good mother can hope for from the most humble and obedient son, which as long as I live she will find me to be. In this disposition of mind, I most humbly kiss your hands, praying the Almighty God to grant your Majesty a long and happy life with perfect health.

Your Majesty's most humble son and servant

JAMES.

From Falkland.

On the above subject, we find the following particulars in a letter from Paget to the Queen of Scots: "Not long since I chanced to be with the Spanish ambassador, who fell into talk of your Majesty's son, and marvelled much at the course he followed in assuming the supremacy of the Church, and refusing conference with the Catholics, and in treating with the Queen of England, which he said was a

manifest sign of his resolution to remain a Protestant. He added, that his coldness in forming an Association with your Majesty gave him small hope of any good to be done by his means.

"I endeavoured to palliate James' conduct, upon which the ambassador became somewhat crusty, and said he understood by as good means as I did, that your son would not yield to the Association. He marvelled your son did not send to the Pope, and thought it not uncomely either for his Holiness, or the King of Spain, to use all the means they could to win him over to Catholicity, whereby they would not only do most acceptable service to God, but to all the Catholic state of Christendom. I thought it my duty to declare this speech between the Spanish ambassador and myself to your Majesty, that you may be fully aware that there is not that expectation to be had of the matter, which your Majesty had formed this coming spring. As things are, God knows when any good result may be expected. I see every day, that there are new devises to breed delays, and therefore your Majesty will have to find some other course for yourself, and to provide for the safety of your person, as well as you can. Your Majesty needs be more circumspect than before, seeing by the new monstrous oath lately devised, how desirous they are to entrap you, and cut off your whole line. This plainly appears, because if the Earl of Leicester, who lately said to a friend of his, that he will persecute you to the uttermost, as he supposes your Majesty privy to the publication of the book against him, or if any of your enemies can but suborn a person to say he would kill the Queen of England and thereby advance your title, though he doth not the act, and that you yourself never knew thereof, yet

are all they of this new devised Association bound by oath to persecute you and all your line to death. I trust God will save and defend your Majesty, as he has done hitherto, from all their malicious practises. Could not your Majesty possibly by any means, be conveyed away? It were a thing to be brought to pass not by force, but by slight and cunning. Herein I must humbly beseech your Majesty to give me leave to remind you of a conceit of mine, which is to be used or rejected at your Majesty's pleasure. Methinks there were no way so sure to escape, as to clothe yourself in man's apparel, and to have one woman so clothed to attend on you, and so may your Majesty be conveyed to any place in England, to pass the sea, either to Scotland, Spain, or Lorrain. The latter, in my opinion, is the best, where you would have your choice, to make application to the Pope, or any others of your friends. Whereas, if you should be with the king of Spain, you would, perhaps, be forced to that course of life and those conditions your Majesty would be loath to take; besides, the passage is long, and it is doubtful how the heat would agree with your health. In Calais, or some other part fit for the purpose, there might be a ship provided, which might lie in some haven or creek in England, for the purpose of attending your Majesty; nor should it be known to what end it so lay there, unless to some few trusty Catholics, who were desirous to come away; the like course and practice being ordinarily used by Catholics who daily come out of England. For that purpose I durst undertake to provide a sure ship and persons accordingly; and so also there may be found very easy horses, and some few discreet, courageous, and faithful persons to attend your Majesty, which will

breed the least suspicion. The chief thing, however, to know, is, how your health will endure a journey, which, in my opinion, needs not be made in haste. For those that tarry behind, may keep your chamber door shut, as if you lay sick in bed; and, if a little space might be so got before you were missed, I trust all would succeed as well as you could desire; and going clothed as was before said, though the wind should not serve to pass the sea, yet might your Majesty, in despite of all searchers, be kept without danger of suspicion till opportunity served. Now, an it pleased your Majesty, there can be nothing done, unless there be sufficient persons in the house where you are, to serve you, and by whom you may have intelligence; and, to that end, not having, as yet, disclosed any of the device aforesaid, because I know not your Majesty's pleasure therein, I have procured Alban Dolman, a learned, wise, and discreet priest, to go from this town within six days to England. He has entire and familiar friendship with one of my Lord St. John's near kinsmen, called Henry St. John, and he may depend one way or other for three hundred marks in Norfolk; the house where he dwells is called Hockering. My friend assures me, that he has authority over this good priest, to be able to make him do any service he can. He further tells me, that the said St. John has so much credit with my Lord, his cousin, that there is nothing his Lordship conceals from him; so that my friend Mr. Dolman, not only puts me in hope to know my Lord's mind from time to time, for your better direction, but also to win over a brother of the said St. John, to be at your Majesty's command, together with divers others. The best of the St.

Johns aforesaid is a Catholic in heart, notwithstanding he yielded to the time: his brother is a Protestant. The good priest, Mr. Dolman, has lived in England these fifteen years, whereby he has a great acquaintance, and the love of many. He is of comely personage, and when he is attired, is like a gentleman of good calling; as he commonly goes, one would esteem him a justice of the peace. He is not a seminary priest, and therefore our laws are not so sharp against him, and thereby he will be better able to do you service; and I think, if need be, he will be able to open an understanding between your Majesty and your son. He will go by the name of Alison,—a name I have delivered to de Courcelles, the French Ambassador's Secretary, and under that name he is from time to time to write to me in cypher, how his business stands. I have given him sixty French crowns towards his charges into England. Alison himself will write to your Majesty, because my letter must be enclosed in his; and I beseech your Majesty humbly to render him thanks and courteous words; as also a cypher, which cannot fail to forward the purpose of your Majesty. Now I most humbly beseech your Majesty, upon my knees, to pardon me, if unbecomingly I have written any thing, or advised you to that, which in your judgment may seem rash on my part. Think that it is the great care I have of the safety of your person, that moveth me to this, knowing that the only good to come to the state of England and Scotland, is by your means. And even so, praying God to send your Majesty long life and the fulfilment of your wishes, I commit the same to His protection. Your Majesty's most faithful servant, humbly to be commanded during life."

During the course of this year, Fontenay paid a visit to Edinburgh. In a letter to Mary, he thus humorously describes an interview with the Earl of Arran and his Lady.

"A dinner was prepared at the Castle, at which her Majesty [so he nicknames the Countess] was to preside. It was one of the most perfect farces I ever witnessed in my life. Davison was there, who at that time had the ear of your son, and was a great man at court. I saw all the Lords (such is the folly and inconsistency of the world) striving who should be the first to kiss the hands of this venerable matron, and caress her in presence of the king, who blushed and grew pale at the same moment, on seeing me face to face with him, constantly reminding him as I did of your Majesty, who, as the saying is, and with reverence be it spoken, *n'etiez boucon pour donner aux chiens*, (were no mouthful to be thrown to the dogs.) It was curious to see how they all eyed me askance, avoiding me like the plague. The better to entertain this worthy ambassador, Arran and his good wife several times pledged the health, greatness and prosperity of the Queen of England, and of the King your son, in whose ear this unblushing Thais said a hundred pretty things loud enough to be heard by all. To utter a single word about your Majesty would have been high treason, and have deserved excommunication outright. As every one of the party must in turn dine the venerable Davidson, Arran and his wife sent my Lord down to invite me to dine with them. I excused myself on the plea of a previous invitation by a party of gentlemen, whom I was to join, and on which account it was impossible for me to meet them. The Countess hearing this, came herself to ask me before the

King and all present, why I would not dine with the Lords, who expected me. I answered aloud, that I could not make out to swallow dishes cooked in the Scotch fashion, which always gave me the colic. The King blushed, and tried to turn it off in a laugh. Thus did I escape dining that day. After the King had dined, I went to him with your despatch of the last of July, and asked him whether he would have thought it proper for me to dine with Davidson. He answered, no; as well for the trouble it would have caused him, as out of respect for your Majesty's honour; because, said he, you were sent by her without any commission, and without the title of ambassador. But, said he aside (a grace which he has caught from the Master of Gray) there would have been no help for it, you must have taken your seat below the said Davidson at table. I have related this occurrence to your Majesty that you may see in what humour your son was at the said banquet, which took place about the 19th of August, and what you have to expect under such circumstances. I also recollect, that, when I pressed him to acquaint your Majesty with this his secret negociation in England, and to transact nothing without you, that he cut me short by saying, that he would not do it; that your Majesty did not let him know all your affairs, and that, in the present instance, he might well do the same. As for the rest, that your Majesty had nothing to do in the government of his state, having always declared that you had no wish so to do, and that all you asked was the honours of a Queen. Madame, as I before observed, your Majesty must excuse him on the score of his youth, and the spirit of the time, Arran and Gray being alone chargeable with these faults of his. When I

spoke to him of a mother's malediction in case of certain dishonourable practises, I saw it had a great effect upon him. He fears your malediction above all earthly evils; of this you may rest assured."

In another letter he says to Mary; "The Earl and Countess of Arran induce your son to answer you with fair words, but do their utmost to prevent his entering into the Association. They represent to him, that, if you were at liberty, you would deprive him of the government, and set all Scotland in a flame; that, in order to satisfy your revenge, you would leave no means untried to ruin all his counsellors, all who have taken a part with him from his cradle, and to cause them to be executed."

How little anxious James really was for his mother's liberty, will appear from the report of the English Envoy, Robert Bowes, to Walsingham, (*May* 1.) He represents James as saying, that "when men find themselves defeated in intended plots and purposes, they are used to betake themselves to such secondary ways as they think most likely to advance their purpose, they will oftentimes have recourse to the very medicines they most condemned before; and he said he thought this was his mother's case." How far these views may be calculated to raise James in our minds as a politician, we are not prepared to answer; as a son he appears in a very despicable point of view. But this is not all. In order to conciliate the favour of Elizabeth, he had been taught to repeat by rote another accommodating lesson, for he also added "that he wished his mother would not only desist from having any intelligence with foreign powers, but also that she would sincerely turn to the true religion, as received and authorized in these realms."

On another occasion, he observed, that "various obstacles might, perhaps, be found in the person of his mother, in case he should be party with her. For, he said, his mother was known to adhere to papistry; and that by her council and France she was so nourished in the same, and so entangled with the Pope, and the Pope's confidents, that she could not be free from just suspicion."

In a reply to a remonstrance from Lord Hunsden, the English envoy in Edinburgh, it is answered; "as for any agreement with his Majesty's mother, respecting an Association, his Majesty has commanded me [the Earl of Arran] to declare, that it is altogether false, nor has any such matter been *yet* done.—As for the reception of Jesuits, and others, her Majesty's fugitives, his Majesty would be most glad that no fugitives of either realm were received by the other, whereas her Majesty had received the greatest rebels and traitors that his Majesty's own blood ever had."

In a letter from Lord Hunsden, to Walsingham, he says; "as to the coming of any Jesuits into Scotland, the King declares it is but a slanderous device of his enemies, and of such as would have the world believe he was ready to revolt in religion, though he was as constant in the same as any prince that ever professed it. He protested that he never saw the creature called a Jesuit in his life; and that if there were any in Scotland, they could not do so much harm as some of our own ministers, preaching such doctrine as they did."

August 24.—MARY OF SCOTS TO CASTELNAU.

. . . . "There are those who affect to style me Queen-mother; being the true and native Queen, I

beg to be styled no other: I know no other Queen nor King of Scotland, but myself."

What called forth this noble burst of indignation, was a letter which Mary had lately received from her son, in a style equally contemptible and unnatural. Among other passages, it contained the following:—"As to conducting affairs conjointly with you, I have never, Madam, had nor heard, that two Princes or personages, have, or could conjointly conduct their affairs, each having his own ministers. But in one case, it is more particularly inapplicable, the one of us being free and occupied in the affairs of state; the other a captive, living solitary as if in a desert. . . As to your being acknowledged Queen, I have always acknowledged, and will acknowledge you during life to be Queen-mother, as piety and duty oblige me; but not through fear of displeasing any foreign Prince whatever; for should any of them be displeased with me, I should be displeased with them in turn."

Fontenay thus writes from Paris to the Queen of Scots:—Previous to my departure from Scotland, there was question of letters, of which I was to be the bearer to your Majesty. These letters being inscribed "to my much honoured Lady and mother the Queen-mother of Scotland," I said I could not be the bearer of the same, as it would be equivalent to an avowal of a quality highly prejudicial to your Majesty's rights. I plainly declared to Maitland that I would not be the first to recognize as absolute King one whom your Majesty would not consent to recognize as such; and that I had rather lay down my life than be guilty of so base a treason. In the same spirit I also refused a large silver-gilt vase, chased and embossed, and valued at a hundred

crowns, declaring to my Lord Doun that I had, thank heaven, a Mistress whose interests were dear to me, and that it would be very unreasonable on my part to accept so handsome a recompense for such trifling services as I had been able to perform. When again pressed in regard to the letters, I begged them to desist, as it was so much lost time to attempt to persuade me against my conscience. . . . Madame, to resume the thread of my former observations, it seems very necessary to send some one as soon as possible to the Pope [Sixtus the V.], to render him the reverence and obedience due to the Holy Apostolic Sec. I understand that his Holiness is very well disposed towards you, and therefore as little time should be lost as possible, seeing the benefits to be hoped for from that quarter. . . . With all my soul, I pray the Almighty God to protect your Majesty from the designs of your enemies, and to grant you the grace shortly to be relieved from the grievance to which you have so long been subject, and to enjoy a long and happy life.

We have a paper of Fontenay, entitled "The articles of his negociation with the King of Scots, and the said King's answers point by point." We will translate a part of it. "Though your Majesty forbade me to treat of any thing in writing, I thought I might transgress your command when it was for your advantage, rather than by complying to afford the King, your son, a pretext for ignorance, a loophole out of which he is but too ready to escape. When told, that, of a truth, such and such a thing has been mentioned to him before, he has no recollection of it whatever; my only method was to have a written summary in order to draw forth a reply in writing. I humbly beseech your Majesty to pay no

attention to certain impertinent answers made by him to some of my articles, nor to conceive less hope of your union with him. I know that in his heart he loves and honours your Majesty, and had any other persons been about him than the Earl of Arran or the Duke of Lennox, he would have sung a different song. His disposition is good, and he readily yields to the persuasion of those he loves."

One of the impertinent answers alluded to seems to be the following: "Had Chimera proposed questions like these to Œdippus, and told him to base certainty upon uncertainty, so far from dying, she would have swallowed her man off hand."

Question.—Seeing the situation in which the Queen, your mother is placed, being about to be taken from the hands of the Earl of Shrewsbury, an arrangement that affects her life as well as your own, she entreats your Majesty, as you value a mother's blessing, not to fail promptly to despatch to the Queen of England some nobleman of quality to demand your liberty; or, in default of that, at least that she be not placed in the hands of an enemy.

Answer.—I will use all my power, and all the means I can devise, to prevent this, as I told you, Fontenay, before.

Question.—The Queen of England has given the Queen, your mother, to understand that your Majesty is resolved to abandon her and separate yourself from her altogether, unless, by the mediation of the Earl of Arran and the Lord Hunsden, a good and perfect understanding can be established between you and the Queen of England. Now, such a friendly feeling can not only not be hoped for, but even dreamed of, with a person who has so often

betrayed you, and who, in order to gain time and so defeat the intentions of your Majesty, is even now, under the mask of friendship, intriguing with your own subjeets, to build up her seeurity upon your ruin.

Answer.—As to abandoning the Queen, my mother, and as to any measures between Arran and Hunsden, since you have no eommission to pry too curiously into my affairs, it but little eoneerns you. Let what I told you in Edinburgh on that head suffiee you.

MARY TO ELIZABETH.

MADAME MY GOOD SISTER AND COUSIN,—I have humbly to thank you for my son's answer, whieh you have been pleased to send me, being assured by the same of his good disposition in your regard, and of his entire devotion to myself. I have sent M. de Castelnau to eommunicate this to you, as well as to supply any defect you may have found in that whieh he wrote to you, as my Lord of Shrewsbury gave me to understand. But, Madame, I feel assured that, if you eonsider his present age and situation, you will reeeive what he has sent you, as a mere indieation of his entranee upon a better career, and of the solid establishment of a friendly feeling between us. All that remains to me, is to remind you to follow the way which I pointed out to you, if you think I can be of any serviee to you. But, as to myself individually, the little respeet that has hitherto been had to me, leads me to believe that it would be but a vain importunity on my part. And yet it is with entire affeetion that I own this to you; and, reeommending myself to your good graces, I shall never eease to pray God that he will give you

to see clearly the interior of the hearts of all who belong to you and serve you, and, Madame my good sister, that he will give you a long and happy life.

Your very affectionate good Sister and Cousin,

MARIE R.

Sheffield.

April 17.—MARY TO ELIZABETH.

MADAME, MY GOOD SISTER,—Having received no answer by the Earl of Shrewsbury or by Mr. Beale, to the principal point urged in my former letters,—my liberty, on which subject I had begged you to send some one to confer with me; and as the said Beale has brought me no letter from you, either as a subject of consolation, or as accrediting what he might have to say to me; there is sufficient reason for my dispensing with their intermediation, and directly addressing you. Our near proximity of blood, which I cannot lose sight of, and the confidence which I still wish to repose in your good disposition, which I have always duly esteemed, have impelled me, all other considerations apart, to open to you, in the absence of any other more satisfactory mode of communication, or of letters duly authorized, what my son and myself can in all duty, and in surety to ourselves, offer for your security also; having, as I protest before God, no greater desire in this world than to see union established between us, and that good will which we are ready to plight, if you are willing to accept it. As you will learn more particularly from Mr. Beale, I appeal to your good sense to weigh the advantages which you may derive therefrom; and that, as to myself, all I pretend to is to devote the rest of my days to that tranquillity, which is necessary to myself, to your

satisfaction, and to the common good of this Island. In this hope, I have made up my mind entirely to banish from remembrance all grievances past, and as well in words as in deeds, to testify to the whole world the great obligation under which I shall lie to you. In the same manner, I entreat you to lay aside from your heart any ill-feeling that you may have entertained against me, who have nothing so much at heart as to become wholly yours, if you will be pleased to accept me as such. Thus recommending myself to your good favour, I pray God, my good sister, that He will bless you with long life and with all prosperity, and grant me to dispose of the rest of mine, as I am from my heart inclined to do.

Your humble and most sincerely affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARIE R.

October 10.—MARY TO ELIZABETH.

MADAME MY GOOD SISTER AND COUSIN,—My brother-in-law, his most Christian Majesty, and my mother-in-law the Queen, having been pleased to write to me on certain overtures made by my son, for the name and title of King of Scotland, on which are depending many particulars that may regard yourself, I could not fail to ask your advice and good counsel thereupon, feeling assured that, in so important and pious a work, I should experience the effect of that good will towards the mother and child of your nearest relative, which you had always testified. I therefore say, Madam, that my son fully recognizing, as I hope he does, his duty and obligation towards me, I desire in return to testify the affection I have always borne him, as my only son

and heir, securing him, as I understand he wishes, in the enjoyment of all the greatness in which he can share, and especially for the crown of Scotland, without any wish on my part to enter into any opposition to him, as they have sought to persuade him. But in order to discover the best means of realizing our mutual intentions, I thought it advisable, for your satisfaction, that you should authorize me to send some one of my servants to him; accompanied by such of your own as you may appoint, out of the presence of whom I voluntarily agree that mine shall not negociate aught, that the preservation of peace be provided for, a good understanding between the two kingdoms be maintained, and all past differences be adjusted. I beg you, as well for the good of your own affairs, as mine, not to refuse me this just request, and bring to a happy conclusion an affair which will assuredly be embraced by all the Princes in Christendom. My duty as a mother for the preservation of her son, and the maintenance of his affairs and my own, will allow me no longer to defer what our mutual necessity requires, and of which I am admonished by the state of my health, being apprehensive that the return of my last year's maladies, as has been the case this winter, will end only in a termination of my life and my sorrows. This leads me the more earnestly to endeavour to establish in time a friendly feeling and understanding between my son and you, as the greatest blessing I could leave him, and the best security for the quietness and repose of this Island. Be pleased, then, to receive the advantageous offer I make you; and strengthen yourself by the good will and sincere affection of myself and my son, adding to the obligations which you have by proximity of blood,

those which we ask of you for our preservation, for which, during the thirteen years that you have kept me here a prisoner, you are responsible before God and man. On this point I cannot but make my complaint to you in regard to the new restraint put upon my liberty, and the severer treatment I have lately received, and of which I see no amendment, though you were pleased to promise the same to the late ambassadors of his most Christian Majesty. I protest to you my inability to put up much longer with the same, without imminent danger of my life, of which, methinks, you would not wish to bear the blame, and still less render yourself guilty by an increase of rigour and inhumanity. If the truth of this treatment I have received, has not reached you, and you are informed to the contrary, I beg you to do me the honour to make a more particular inquiry, that such steps may be taken in this regard as your own honour and my health require. In this way, also, you will prevent yourself from being further importuned. Otherwise, if after having endured so long and so much, and given so many proofs of my sincerity, I can hope no better for the future, I shall be constrained to renew, and urge by every means in my power, and on what terms soever it be, the remonstrances made by me for my deliverance the year past, satisfied that till now I have done every thing required on my part in your regard. And as a last reason :—if my enemies are permitted to shorten my days by continuing the said rigorous treatment in prison, nay of augmenting its rigour, and depriving me of your favour, which I am thus compelled to implore, I declare, that, from henceforth, surrendering into the hands of my son not only Scotland, but every thing

else in the world that belongs to me, or to which I can lay claim, and of which no one can hinder me; I will equally acquit myself and him of all the wrong and the prejudice that my captivity has heretofore brought with it in regard to the advancement of our affairs, leaving all to his will and power, so that hereafter no practice or negotiation depending thereon, be it what it may, can be imputed to me. After having thus stripped myself, nothing will remain to my enemies but this poor shattered and languishing frame of mine, on which to glut their vengeance, without reaping therefrom the smallest advantage to themselves or their affairs. You will, if you please, attend to this, and let me hear your determination through any channel that may seem best to you. I shall be very glad to have it in my power, as well in this, as in several other points, highly important to the well-being of your affairs, freely to open my mind to some one appointed by you, in whom you can confide, assuring you that the same will be highly satisfactory to you. Meanwhile, recommending myself very affectionately to your good graces, it is my prayer that God will have you in his holy keeping.

Your very affectionate good Sister and Cousin,
From Sheffield. MARIE R.

After amusing the Queen of Scots with hopes of being permitted freely to communicate with her son, a pretext was at length found for refusing it altogether. Its effect upon Mary's mind may be seen in the following letter.

MARY TO ELIZABETH.

MADAME MY VERY GOOD SISTER,—As I can obtain permission neither to send to my son, nor to com-

municate with any one coming from him, in order to clear up, as I have so often attempted to do, the misunderstanding between him and myself, my enemies being permitted the while to continue their practises to separate us, I have come to a determination to open my mind to you. It can be deferred no longer. Since my ill-advised son is so unfortunate, so abandoned by the spirit of God, as to allow himself to be led and persuaded to refuse holding from me, what he cannot without me lawfully possess, you will be pleased without further delay to proceed to the conclusion of the treaty for my liberty, in order, that, by your good favour, I may retire from this Island to some place of solitude and repose, as well for the benefit of my soul as of my body; and under this condition, I hereby offer you not only what was lately agreed upon with my Secretary, but every other thing without reservation, with which, saving my honour and conscience, I can dispense; nay, rather than you should not be entirely satisfied, and myself be delivered from the reproach of this servitude, this dreary captivity of mine, I had rather, both for myself and posterity, renounce forever all right of me and mine to this kingdom after you, (whom God preserve,) in order at once to do away with every cause for my enemies making you distrust me; hoping by this means no longer to furnish a pretext for any one to devise, under my name or apparent favour, any thing to your prejudice or displeasure. For as he is now wanting in duty and respect to me, on whose account alone, as I call the living God to witness, I suffered and still suffer this captivity of mine, to preserve for him that greatness which belongs to me; having always held his preservation dearer than my own. He is

no longer concerned at what may befal either him or myself, and if he remain long in this disposition, the greatest satisfaction I could have previous to my death, which he has hastened on, would be to leave him to all posterity a signal example of tyranny, ingratitude, and impiety, justly avenged of heaven, and punished in himself and his descendants. You will remember, Madame, that you were pleased to inform me, that you had never recognized him as King, before I had so named him; but I did so, and required other Princes to do the same, only upon condition of his consent and promise to pass the association. . . . Let me intreat you then, not to open the gate to such violent proeeedings, and instead of being my protectress, to whom I wholly committed myself, to suffer, against all right human and divine, such an impiety to be fostered under your countenance and protection. It has sometimes happened that brethren and other near relatives have lost sight of their duty one to another, through a lust after power; but alas! what can be more detestable before God and man, than that an only child, to whom every thing would finally fall, and to whom it is beforehand gratuitously offered, should not only despoil his own mother of her state and crown, but should be so besotted by sinister counsels, as to prefer holding them by usurpation, and the violence of rebellious subjects, than from my free and pure consent. Before God, Madame, you who are his godmother, and whom I would fain have to be his mother by nature, as I formerly left him to you, when I thought myself dying, and may still be inclined to leave him; you who have a natural inclination to justice, and are known for your prudence, reflect, I pray you, what profit or honour you can

derive from the counsel which I know some men give you, to join in league and friendship with my child? Be not the cause, that, under your countenance, confirming himself more and more in his ingratitude and forgetfulness towards me, he should at last, as he doubtless will do if he persist therein, draw down upon his head a mother's malediction, and find himself deprived, as far as in me lies, of all the power and greatness to which he might have pretended both in Scotland and elsewhere. I have no doubt of finding in Christendom heirs enough, with hands sufficiently strong to grasp and to hold what I place within them. After this, let them do what they will with my body; the shorter work they make of it, the more agreeable to me. Of this be assured, that, if after having sincerely offered, and as far as at present within me lies, done and performed all in my power to side wholly with you, and induce my said son to do the same, I should be thrown into the back ground, and he, in your name be thrust forward by my enemies, as he himself has boasted to me of being by his minion Gray; of this be assured, that I will at once disown him as my son, and pour upon him a mother's malediction, disinheriting him not only of what he holds, but of every thing to which he can pretend through me, abandoning him not only to my own subjects to do with him as he has instigated them to do with me, but also to strangers to pursue him and make him feel the evil of which he has been guilty. Of this at least I shall be sure, that he will not enjoy his ill-gotten power without trouble and bitterness of heart; and even should the strong arm of man uphold him, I will rightfully take from him the protection of God, who cannot gainsay his promises, by

favouring impiety and injustice. Let me beg of you not to listen to the misrepresentations of my enemies, for I tell you simply and with an open heart, what I am resolved to do, that you may not afterwards find fault, or blame me for having acted without your knowledge. You may have me assuredly your own, to serve you, as I have already offered, in whatever regards your interest and well-being; which being purchased at no less than the loss of my son, I will leave you and him nothing but my poor body, to treat it as may best seem to you, and who perhaps demand that very thing which my enemies are seeking and compassing. But through no apprehension of such an event would I ever take one step or say one word more or less; for I had rather perish with honour, and with a heart such as God has formed it, than to prolong my life by any cowardly act, or aught unworthy of myself and my race. You were pleased to promise me by my Secretary, and it was, as he told me, one of your last words at parting, that, after obtaining an answer from Scotland, you would send me unreservedly your final resolution touching this treaty for my liberty. This is what I now solicit at your hands, with all the earnestness in my power, that the remainder of my wretched days may not be abused with a vain hope, and that I may, for the last time, attend to my spiritual concerns at this holy season of Easter, previous to a course of medical treatment.—As to what the French ambassador lately communicated relative to Parry and Morgan, allow me to say, upon my honour and conscience, that I have meddled in nothing of the kind, abhorring more than any one in Christendom, such horrible acts and detestable practises. To speak freely with you, Madame, I

cannot but think that those who would attempt your life, would do the same to mine; for so it is, that mine seems now to depend upon yours, well knowing that if any thing fatal were to happen to you, there are those about you who would soon make me follow you. As for me, I had rather go before, than follow with such a burden, at which I think they would not be sorry. God and my conscience will be my sufficient discharge in this regard, nor will I trouble you further, lest I should give my enemies occasion to say, as they formerly did, when I wrote to you on the same subject from Sheffield, that he who defends himself before he is accused, becomes his own accuser. But you will find that my heart has ever been free from any such wicked intention, and that, more than ever, it is my wish to respect, love, obey and serve you faithfully and sincerely in whatever I can; and more particularly in that state of liberty, which I close this letter by again soliciting at your hands, in the midst of tears and a broken spirit.

Your humble and very affectionate
but desolate Sister and Cousin,
From Tutbury. MARIE R.

Nov. 20.—THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO BURGHLEY.

MR. TREASURER,—Having written some days past to the Queen, my good sister, to remind her of the sincerity of my intentions towards her, and of the great need I have of her attention to the request I made of late, I thought by the same occasion I write you this, to beg you to be favourable to my wishes, and to represent to your mistress, that, as well for her own interest as for my well-being, she would be favourable to me, and bind me to herself

more strongly than ever. But having been somewhat indisposed, I was compelled to defer it till now; in the meantime, begging the Sieur Mauvissiere, ambassador of his most Christian Majesty, my good brother, to communicate to you the whole, and to beg your aid and support in regard to the said Lady, my good sister. Being persuaded that he would not fail in the same, I will trouble you no further, except it be to pray you, that you would have regard to my long captivity, and to the truth that they are seeking my ruin. I am not so destitute of common sense as not to see at what they are aiming, and to perceive the danger of my actual situation. I rely on your wisdom, persuaded that you will feel convinced that I do not deserve such suspicion at their hands. I finish by my recommendation to your good services, and to those of my Lady Burghley your wife, begging God to grant you all the happiness you can desire.

Your entirely good friend,

MARIE R.

From Sheffield, this 20th of November.

The remarks of Nares upon this letter are in a better tone than usually characterises his work. "How much it were to be wished," says he, "that this letter could have had its full and desired effect, and that the dreadful catastrophe to which we are fast approaching could have been avoided, and the pages of our history not have been stained with so foul a blot."—*Burghley's Memoirs.*

There are letters of this period from Castelnau, the French ambassador, to his sovereign, Henry III.; we give some extracts.

January 1.—The Queen of England says, that

she would willingly show some favour to Mary, and would behave to James in the same manner as he should towards her. She expressed a great desire that he should marry a protestant, perhaps the daughter of the King of Sweden.

January 20.—The Earl of Leicester promises me every thing, and is as forward in offering his services as though we had long been friends. He has pressed me to dine with him and his wife, who appears to have much influence over him, and whom he introduces only to those to whom he wishes to show a particular mark of attention. He made great offers and promises to serve your Majesty, as soon as an opportunity shall present itself.* Upon the whole he spoke to me very freely upon all subjects.—The Bishop of St. Andrews found the Queen of England much irritated, and full of threats and studied speeches, the tendency of which was to excite reciprocal distrust between James and his mother. She is much dissatisfied at the concord between them; Mary too, now favours her son, and there is some hope that he will embrace the Catholic faith.

January 22.—CASTELNAU TO THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.

I dined to day with the Earl of Leicester and his Lady, to whom he is much attached. They both received me very kindly, made many offers of friendship, and expressed a wish to see my wife,

* It will not be forgotten that these kind things were uttered at the very moment this man "of double mind and tongue" was maturing the project of the Association. How just is that remark of Walsingham; that "It is well to have the ill-word of certain men: their fair words are the sure fore-runners of some injury."

with whom the Countess desired much to form an acquaintance. After dinner the Earl walked out with me, and vowed that he had never been your Majesty's enemy, but had now lost his influence with Elizabeth, with the King of France, and your Majesty. As to the Earl of Huntingdon, he said he would be the first to oppose him and any pretensions of his; and in the event of the death of the Queen of England, he, with all his relations and friends, would willingly render some important service to your Majesty. He told me I might acquaint your Majesty with this, but on no account to breathe it to any other mortal living, as it would ruin him and the project together.—The Queen of England seems disposed to give you an answer and conclude a treaty; yet, on the other hand, she is suspicious of the good understanding between you and your son. Walsingham too has been uneasy on this account, and, in consequence, conceals the inclination he bears towards you. With regard to the Earl of Shrewsbury and his Lady, Leicester told me, that both of them write the most scandalous stories of each other, by which your Majesty also is brought into trouble. The Earl of Leicester is very desirous that a reconciliation should be effected between the parties. In a word, the Earl never promised me more on behalf of your Majesty, than on this occasion; I see that the means to keep him in good humour is to gain his wife, and to assure her that you will be her friend. Let me know whether I shall continue to negociate in this manner; for if Leicester does not dissemble greatly, he is desirous to serve your Majesty; only not a soul, not even Walsingham, is to know a syllable about the matter.

The reader has become familiar with the name

of the Countess of Shrewsbury, and as her history is somewhat mixed up with a portion of that of the Queen of Scots, we may be pardoned for devoting a page or two to the subject. The following letter, though it turns upon trifling subjects, lets us at once into the singular character of the woman.

THE COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY TO THE EARL.

My dear heart,—If you cannot get my timber carried, I must do without it, though I greatly want it; but if it would please you to command Hebert, or any other, to move your tenants to bring it, I know they will not refuse. I pray you let me know whether I shall have the ton of iron. If you cannot spare it, I must make shift to get it elsewhere, for I cannot now do without it. You promised to send me money before this time to buy oxen, but I see how it is,—out of sight, out of mind with you. I will send you the bill of my wood stuff; I pray you let it be sent to Joseph, that he may be sure to receive it all. I thank you for taking order for the carriage of it to Hardwicke; if you would order your waggoner to bring it hither, I think it would be safest carried. We have neither malt nor hops here; the malt that came last is so very bad and stinking, that Hawkes thinks none of the workmen will drink it.

It cannot be but you will have the Queen's consent to remove hither; therefore if you would have all the provisions ready, you might the sooner come. Come either before mid-summer, or not this year. There is no manner of provision here, but a little drink, which makes me think you have no mind to come. God send my jewel health.

Your faithful wife,

E. SHREWSBURY.

Saturday morning.—I have sent you some lettuce, as you love them; every second day some is sent to your charge and you; I have nothing else to send. Let me hear how you, and your charge *and love*, do; and commend me, I pray you, to her.

She was the Earl's second wife, and daughter and co-heir of John Hardwicke, of Hardwicke in Derbyshire. She had been already thrice married, and induced the Earl, partly by entreaties, partly by threats, to sacrifice the fortune and happiness of himself and his family to the aggrandisement of her children by her second husband, Sir William Cavendish. Lodge thus sums up her character; "She was a woman of masculine understanding and conduct; proud, furious, selfish, and unfeeling. She was a builder, a buyer and seller of estates, a money-lender, a farmer, and a merchant of lead, coals, and timber. When disengaged from these employments, she intrigued alternately with Elizabeth and Mary, always to the prejudice and terror of her husband. She lived to a great old age, continually flattered but seldom deceived, and died in 1607, immensely rich, and without a friend." In proof of the violence of her temper, we copy the following message, sent by one of her servants to the Earl, on occasion of one of their many quarrels. "My Lady has commanded me to say thus much to you;—That though you be more wretched, vile, and miserable, than any creature living; and, for your wickedness, become more ugly in shape than the vilest toad in the world, and one to whom none of reputation would vouchsafe to send any message; yet she has thought good to send thus much to you,—That she is contented you should live, and in nowise wishes your death: but to this end,—that all the plagues and miseries

that may befal any man, may light upon such a caitiff as you are; that you may live to have all your friends forsake you; and without your great repentance, which she looks not for because your life has been so bad, you will be damned eternally."

In popular parlance, the good Earl had "caught a Tartar" in this irascible dame.

In a letter to Lord Burghley (*Oct.* 23, 1585) he says: "Since my coming into the country, my wife and her children have not ceased to inform her Majesty most slanderously of me, that I have broken her Highness's orders; and at length they have obtained her gracious letters. I have been sorely troubled with her, never able to satisfy her greedy appetite for money to pay for her purchases to set up her children. Besides, I have lived in danger of being daily compassed by those who most maliciously hated me, and who would wish me out of the way, that they might be in my place."

In another letter (*Nov.* 9,) he throws out many bitter things against his "wife and her imps, whom he knows to be his mortal enemies."

April 30.—Shrewsbury to Leicester.

And so, her Majesty has declared her mind in the matter between me and my wife, and doubts not but in every respect I will observe what her Highness has set down in the matter. Her Majesty's censure of me and my cause is hard indeed. The duty of every good subject is to spend lands and life in the cause of her Majesty, as I and my ancestors have done, and am ready at her command to do. For all my careful and painful service, with my great expenses over and above my allowance, in the keeping of this Lady for sixteen years past, together

with the extraordinary expenses of her Majesty's commissioners, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Beale, and Sir Ralph Sadler, and others, with their horses and men so long as they continued with me: though for all this her Majesty will bestow nothing on me, yet I always thought she would have left me with what the laws had given me. But since her Majesty has set down this hard sentence against me, to my perpetual infamy and dishonour, to be ruled and overrun by my wife, so bad and wicked a woman; yet her Majesty shall see that I will obey her command, though no curse or plague on earth could be more grievous to me. The offers of my wife, inclosed in your letters, I think very unfit to be offered me. It is too much to make me my wife's pensioner, and set down the demesnes of the Chatsworth estate, without the house and other lands leased, which is but a pension in money, &c.

In another letter to Leicester, he says: "As for my son, I never dissuaded him from loving his wife, though he said he must either forsake me, or hate his wife. I think it is his duty, that, as I have forbidden him from coming to my wicked and malicious wife, who has set me at naught in his own hearing, he should do so; and yet, contrary to my command, he has gone and sent to her daily by his wife's persuasion; yea, he has written and carried letters to no mean personages in my wife's behalf. The best way I have to content myself is to think that it is his wife's wicked persuasion, and her mother's together; I think neither barrel of them both the better herring. To be plain; he shall either leave his indirect dealing with my wife, seeing I take her as my professed enemy, or else will I do that to him I should be loath. I will take the £200 I give him yearly, be-

sides alienating my good will from him, and then repentance may come too late.

This is a sad falling off from the tender things in the letter that follows: "My sweet-heart,—The true and faithful love you bear me, is more comfortable than any thing I can think upon; and I give God thanks daily for the benefits he has bestowed on me, and the greatest is his having sent me you in my old years to comfort me. Your coming I shall think long, and on Friday I shall send your litter and horses, and on Saturday morning I will send my folks, because on Friday they will be desirous to be at Rotherham fair. I thank you for your fat capon; it shall be baked, and kept cold and untouched till my sweet-heart come,—guess who that is! I have sent you a cock that was given me, which is all the dainties I have here.

Farewell, my sweet, true, own, and faithful wife."

But something worse is yet to follow. The reader has already perceived certain inklings of a jealous feeling on the part of the Countess in reference to the Earl and the Queen of Scots. This feeling after rankling for some time in her bosom, broke forth in a slanderous accusation, the particulars of which we will allow the injured Queen herself to state. Castelnau had said in a letter to Mary, "With regard to the Earl of Shrewsbury and his Lady, Leicester tells me that both of them wrote the most scandalous stories of each other, by which your Majesty is brought into trouble." In her reply, Mary observes; "In regard to the scandalous reports of which I before spoke to you, respecting the Earl of Shrewsbury and myself, I feel convinced that they originated with no other than his Lady herself. If the Queen of England does not give

me an explanation of this imposture, I shall be compelled openly to attack the Countess. I am restrained by two considerations from making use of the advantages I have over her; the first is,—that I will maintain my reputation for probity and firmness in the opinion of my friends and the world in general; that I do not readily enter into controversy with them, and, even when they are in the wrong, will not act against them but in the last extremity. In the second place, if I accuse that wretched woman of various arrogant speeches and intrigues against the Queen, myself, and some of the nobility of the realm, I am fearful of injuring her husband; and besides, it might appear strange through what means I became acquainted with so many particulars. But, be the consequences what they may, there is nothing I would not venture for my honour, which, even if I were not placed in so elevated a station in the world, would still be dearer to me than a thousand lives. I therefore most earnestly entreat you diligently to pursue the course best adapted to counteract this infamous calumny, till I obtain adequate satisfaction, either by an appeal to the whole kingdom, on which you are particularly to insist, or by the exemplary punishment of the authors of the same. Should you be called upon to say who these are, you may confidently answer, Charles and William Cavendish, urged on by the Countess of Shrewsbury; or, at least, you may require that they should be examined on this subject. I know that one of the Council, in the presence of four or five distinguished persons, suffered the observation to escape him, that the report was believed to be false, but that its propagation was found convenient in order to prevent my marriage with the king of Spain,—

which, heaven knows, neither I, nor probably he, ever even dreamed of.

All this confusion arises from Leicester and Walsingham, who, as I have been credibly informed, sent the Countess a copy of my last letters to you. Under pretext of having learned this elsewhere, it may not be improper to explain to the Queen, that the Countess shows herself my enemy in so false and slanderous a manner, and is secretly advised and urged on by men, who, were it only for the honour of the Queen, my near relative, ought to aid me, as well as Elizabeth herself.

You may observe to the Earl of Leicester, as if the idea originated from yourself, and was your advice, that, if he does not take care, all this confusion will be ascribed to him, for all concerned in it are his servants and dependants; among whom you may not hesitate to mention one Lascells, and a man named Topcliffe,* who have entered into a very in-

* Topcliffe was one of the numerous herd of officials, known by the name of "pursuivants," who fattened upon the blood-money paid for cruelties to the Catholics during this sanguinary and persecuting reign. So notorious was he in this capacity, so keen his appetite for blood, and so practised his dexterity in hunting his prey into the toils, that his name grew to be synonymous with his profession; and *Topcliffizare* was a term that indicated the eagerness of the keenest sportsman, in a pursuit

Where man was of his fellow-man the prey.

There are several letters from this fellow to the Earl of Shrewsbury, which bespeak all the dirty intriguing and low familiarity of one of his craft,—"a certain *peculiar* cast of character," as Lodge expresses it. He boasts of his familiar access to the Queen, for the purpose of betraying "recusants," as those good Catholics were termed, who conscientiously refused to attend the protestant service. Of this number was the old family of the Fitzherberts, one of the most respectable

timate understanding with the Countess and her sons.—The Earl of Shrewsbury, as I understand, is more than ever resolved upon a visit to the Court, in order to get information of all his enemies have accused him of, and I doubt not but he will prove his innocence to their confusion and his own honour. Should any thing be said of removing me from this place, you are decidedly to oppose it, partly for the safety of my life, which the King my good brother cannot hold to be secure in any other hands. After this scandalous report spread of me, and the Earl,

of the time, whom this miscreant thus traduces: "God will not suffer the practices of those wicked ones to lie hidden. There have lately burst out the lewd disposition of that dangerous family of the Fitzherberts, in whose three houses have been moulded and tempered the most dangerous and loathsome treasons that this age has heard of. Of such, my *dear* Lord [he is writing to Shrewsbury] for the *particular love I bear you*, suffer me to warn your Lordship, that they come not to you in fair skins, and prove adders; who under some outward good qualities carry an inward infection that, in time, will poison a whole household. God keep your Lordship from such serpents, and enable you to discover good colours from bad." This brutality against a rich Catholic family was not without an object. A few years after, he got possession of, and took up his residence in, the old family house of the Fitzherberts, at Padley, in Derbyshire. A little phrase of Lord Bacon, speaks volumes; he is talking of the treatment of the Catholics: "contrary to our *Topcliffian* custom of hunting down recusants, he has won more with words than others could do with racks."

An anecdote of Bacon's liberality may find its place here. When the "Defence of Mary," by the Bishop of Ross, which was published upon the continent, made its way to England, Elizabeth inquired of Bacon whether the author and publisher should not be brought to the rack; his answer was,—"Would it not be better to rack the work, rather than the writer?"

a removal from him would at once be construed to my dishonour. I earnestly entreat you to keep all this a profound secret, in order that the ambassador may not perceive any thing of it. I would not for all the world have it discovered, on account of the disgrace it would bring upon me; yea, and not merely the disgrace, but my very life depends upon it; this, however, I care not so much for as the disgrace. To die is the lot of all; to struggle against disgrace is the duty of all.

Castelnau in reply:—"I think it best to let this fury [caused by the execution of Parry and others] pass over a little; I will then do every thing in my power in your service. I must also not conceal from you that your enemies have every where spread a report, that you have again had a good understanding with your host, and that you are again in a situation to give birth to an infant, &c.* The ru-

* The scandal became so public, as to figure at the quarter sessions in Westminster Hall. Strype gives the indictment: "Cople and Baldwin, my Lord of Shrewsbury's gentlemen, indicted one Walmsley of Islington, an Inn keeper, for scandalizing my Lord, their master. They produced a paper in his Lordship's hand-writing, containing a denial of the allegation. It was alledged that Walmsley had publicly told his guests that Shrewsbury had an illicit commerce with the Queen of Scots; that an infant was the consequence, and that he knew where the child was christened. Fleetwood, the sitting Magistrate, had the delicacy to hear the evidence in his private room. A true bill was returned."

"There is in the Paper office, a declaration on oath of the Countess of Shrewsbury, and her two sons, that they never spread any reports contrary to the honour of the Queen, and that they considered the same as scandalous, malicious, and false, particularly the grosser accusation. What profligacy does not all this reveal by necessary implication!"—*Chalmers.*

mour came to me by hearsay; it was not formally reported to me, it being well known in what manner I should have replied to such malicious lies. Write to me openly what I am to do in this business, or send a letter in which these falsehoods are so stated that I may shew it to the Queen and her Council."

The subject is urged with still greater warmth in a letter from

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO CASTELNAU.

SIR,—Before God in the first place, and before all the Kings and Queens of Christendom, whom I make my judges, I am confident that I shall be honourably acquitted, however the matter against me may succeed. My conduct has been upright, ingenuous, and sincere, as in all things a good Christian's ought to be. On this point, I challenge my most subtle and malicious enemies to unearth themselves from the mines and underground hiding places, where they have concealed their dark intrigues against me, and appear, if they dare, openly to maintain what they have imagined against me.

I doubt not, sir, but you will find it strange that I have fallen into such contests, and therefore I will let you know the chief source of them. It is this. I have understood that some of my enemies have wickedly taken the liberty to circulate a detestable slander against me; they have taxed my honour with the Lord Shrewsbury who has the custody of me. Well do I know, that I could expect nothing better from those, who, from the beginning, have been plotting my ruin, and devising how by violence and poison to shorten that life which their arts have rendered so miserable, and who are still at work by every sinister means to annoy me and my son. It

is true their words and actions against me, always carrying their discredit with them, need not give me great trouble, as their fictions are things known to be beyond all truth and probability by those who are acquainted with the Earl and with my deportment in this kingdom, which, I may say without boasting, is irreproachable; yet as the report may probably be spread among more persons of rank than themselves, who may not have the means of coming to the truth, it is necessary, in order to obviate it, spiritedly to declare to the Queen, my good sister, and to the Lords of her Council, the natural disgust at this wrong which I feel from the bottom of my heart, and my sense of the grievous injury done me in this matter; in order that on her part, as bound by the ties of consanguinity, and considering the state in which she detains me, which deprives me of the means of otherwise counteracting the slander, she will be pleased to undertake my just defence, and that the Lords of her Council, as honourable men and lovers of the truth, may assist her in the same, a favour which I beg of them all in general, and of each individually.

But if no sufficient answer be made to the same, nor the authors of it appear; in order that they may not escape their deserts, I beg of you publicly to assert in my name, which, on the faith of a Queen, I promise to sanction in time and place, that whatever person, without exception, has said, or caused to be said, that, between my Warden and me, or any one else whatever, there has passed the smallest thing in the world prejudicial to my honour, that he has falsely and villainously lied, and will lie always and as often as he shall say, or cause this to be said; offering upon this, to challenge him to single

combat by a person of his own rank and equal to him in all respects, whom I will not fail to name, the moment I am informed of the same.

In the meantime, I beg you to notify this my declaration and offer, with all the diligence you can, as well to the King my good brother, as to my son, and the Princes of Lorraine, my relatives, that by them, and throughout all Christendom, it may be known how unworthily in all respects I have been treated by my enemies. But, above all, I expressly charge my son to demand reparation, not for my particular vindication, but for his own honour. This shall be one of my last commands at the point of death, if I am not satisfied before; there being, in my estimation, no grandeur in this world, no, not life itself, which I would not voluntarily hazard for the defence of my honour; this is the sole and the last consideration upon which my enemies can touch, to bring affairs to extremity between them and me; it is capable of making me lose that too great patience which has made me languish amongst them, and waste away these fifteen years of my life, in this miserable captivity.

As yet, however, I do not intend to point out any person in particular, as well for the past obligations under which I am to her [the Countess of Shrewsbury], who has made use of this lie, which formerly, in my presence, she laughed at immoderately, though she was more interested in it than any one else. She even named to me one Topcliffe, as the author of this fine story. But, notwithstanding her extreme ingratitude, I do not wish to wrong her, nor to bring into play any of those, through whom, under the name of friends, she wishes to conceal herself. I do not wish to be upon bad terms with them, and

still less would I so far forget myself, as to pursue her in such an affair. But on the supposition that I should be urged to go further by such lies and false impostures (for, in truth I give them *carte blanche* to publish the worst of me they can), I feel assured that my friends and well-wishers will not impute it to an ungrateful or vindictive spirit, but to the extremity to which I am reduced, if, for the just defence of my honor, I do not publicly and by good and sufficient proofs, make appear to the Queen my good sister, and to all persons of rank in the kingdom, the little faith and credit which the said Countess and hers have deserved on my part. They have come forward as my enemies, upon the vain imagination of raising themselves upon my ruin into some degree of consequence to the crown. As for myself, I could give an account, if I am forced to it, which would be amply and strictly true, whatever might be the consequence of producing it. But I shall pause from going further at present, begging of God to render to every one in this affair according to his deserts; as He will do, in the end, overthrowing the wicked counsels and machinations of those who oppose themselves to His appointments and His holy will; and to the friendship, concord, and good understanding which ought to prevail between the Queen, my good sister, and myself and my son, for our common security and the good and quiet of this island, for which it would seem to me that my enemies have lost all respect, in order to promote their pernicious and particular designs. Perhaps, at last, it may be discovered when too late, that all the attempts for the destruction of myself and my son, are intended only to open a way for that of a

third party. I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

Your very good friend,

MARIE R.

In the meantime, copies of the above letters, as was the case with all Mary's correspondence, were laid before Elizabeth. Her curiosity was naturally excited to learn the nature of the reports which the Countess of Shrewsbury had made to Mary respecting herself, and she wrote to the Queen of Scots, commanding her to reveal secrets, with which, doubtless, her Majesty was already but too familiar. Mary obeyed, and the result was the famous letter to Elizabeth, of which so much has been said.* We give that part of it in which, among other weaknesses, Lady Shrewsbury is supposed to describe Elizabeth's excessive vanity. "The Countess told me, as nearly as I can recollect, in the following words, —That you were as vain, and had as lofty an opinion of your beauty, as if you had been some heaven-born goddess. That you took so much delight in

* "Mary wrote the celebrated letter in answer to one from Elizabeth, who had required from her a faithful account of whatever Lady Shrewsbury had said in her hearing to the prejudice of Elizabeth's character. The Scottish Queen complied, and related, without much ceremony, a number of facts, or pretended facts, which the Countess in conversation had produced, as proofs of the vanity, the irascible temper, and the amours of the Queen. For this letter she has been severely censured by some writers, who have attributed it to passion and revenge, while others have represented the charges contained in it as false and calumnious. To the first it may be replied, that the letter was written in obedience to the wish of Elizabeth; to the second, that in almost every particular it is confirmed by other authorities.—*Lingard.*

unmeasured flattery, as to be led to avow, that there were people who durst not look you straight in the face, as it shone like the sun. That she, and the other ladies of the court found it necessary to administer flattery to you in the most extravagant doses. That at the last visit which she and the late Countess of Lennox paid you, in repeating the dose, they durst not look at one another, lest they should burst with laughter at the falsehoods they told you; and, on her return, she begged of me to scold her daughter, to keep her from again committing herself; that, as to her daughter Talbot, she durst not go to you with her, as she could never keep from laughing out right in your face. The same Lady Talbot, when she went to give her attendance upon you, and took the oath as one of your maids of honour, returned here again as soon as she could, begging that I would allow her to transfer her services to myself. At first I refused, but at last, moved by her tears, I consented. She then told me, that for no consideration in the world would she remain in your service or be about your person, as she was afraid that, when you were angry, you would treat her as you had done her cousin Skedmar, whose finger you broke, and then made the Court believe that a candle-stick had fallen down upon it; and that to another servant you had given a furious stroke of a knife upon the hand.* In a word, as to

* Elizabeth inherited all the irritability of her father. She would fall into violent paroxysms of passion on the slightest provocation. When excited, she swore roundly, and was no unskilful adept in the language of coarse abuse. Nor did she content herself with words; not only the ladies about her person, but her courtiers and the highest officers of the state, felt the weight of her hand. She collared her paramour Hat-

these last points, and stories of the same kind, that you were made a fool of, and mimicked by them, as in a comedy. . They said that my women, upon hearing these farces, would enact them over together; upon perceiving which, I swear to you, that I forbade my women from joining any more with them."

Mary's remonstrances had at length their effect, and by order of Council the following inquiries were instituted:—Has the Earl of Shrewsbury done any thing contrary to his duty, since the Queen of Scots was committed to his keeping? Did he endeavour, during the past summer, to collect for her an army of 25,000 men? But, above all, had his wife or children any knowledge, or did they spread a report that the Earl of Shrewsbury has children by the Scottish Queen? The Countess and her sons underwent an examination, in which they stated that they did not in any way credit the latter charge, but admitted that they had repeated it as a report. The sons received a severe reprimand, and the Countess, as the more guilty party, was obliged to fall upon her knees, in presence of Elizabeth and her Council, and deny the shameful report which she had been so malicious as to propagate, if not to invent.*

ton, gave an angry box on the ear to the Earl of Essex, and spat upon a Sir Matthew somebody, with the foppery of whose dress she was offended.

* Mr. Turner has the peculiar faculty of seeing things in a different light from other people. Speaking of this lady, he designates her, as a "woman who had been for eighteen years faithfully and steadily superintending the confinement of Mary, in her castle; *treating her with respectful honours*, but vigilantly guarding her, and perseveringly defeating the numerous plans laid for her escape."

So widely had the noise of this affair been spread abroad, that, with all his indifference, we find Mary's hopeful son interfering in the matter, in the following letter.

To our well-beloved Monsieur Nau, Secretary to our very dear Mother the Queen Majesty of Scotland.

MONSIEUR NAU,—We are informed that Madame, our mother, has withdrawn from the friendship she used to the Lady Shrewsbury, by doing which she has committed a great error, as having lost the good will of a lady, who had rendered her many past services and kindness, and has still the means so to do. Therefore do your best that this fault be repaired, and that by all possible means a good understanding may be re-established. The rest of our wishes shall be explained more at length by our faithful and well-beloved servant, Archibald Douglas, who is sent to treat of our affairs in that country, to whom you will be pleased to give faith as to ourselves. Your very good friend,

JAMES R.

CHAPTER VII.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS IN WINGFIELD MANOR.

ÆTAT. 41.—1584 TO 1585.

Historical summary—The Earl of Shrewsbury resigns his charge to Sir Ralph Sadler—Journal of Sir Ralph Sadler—The Association against the Queen of Scots.

WE have seen the abode of Mary at Tutbury, represented by the man White, whom Sir Walter Scott considers as a spy upon Mary's conduct and that of her warden, as something almost voluntary, and for which he told her, with all the effrontery of an accomplished hypocrite, that she ought to be thankful to heaven. It is true, that when she removed from place to place, she was under guard of a stout band of soldiers; that no consent of hers was asked when a change of residence or of warden was proposed; that she was not permitted to ride out for health or pleasure, although she had been so much accustomed to the exercise that her health sunk under the confinement: it is no less true, that if at any time she was permitted to accompany her keepers upon the parties of hawking and hunting, which they practised for their own amusement, not for hers, bands of armed men were in attendance,

provided with swords and firearms, with an understanding that the captive princess was to be taken out of the way, in case auy attempt at escape or rescue was likely to prove successful: all these circumstances, which, to the apprehension of simple men, look so very like restraint, did not, in the opinion of the said Mr. White and his contemporaries, partake of the character of imprisonment, or at all detract from the kindness and hospitality which a sister-queen might expect on the part of Elizabeth.*

To quote the words of Chalmers: "From the epoch of Mary's arrival at Carlisle, there was scarcely a moment in which there was not some plot, either real or feigned, for the freedom of the one Queen, and the disturbance of the other. It is equally clear, that Elizabeth constantly thought that she had every power over Mary's person, while Mary had no power over Elizabeth; and Elizabeth seems to have entirely forgotten, that there was not a conspiracy against the Queen of Scots, from the demise of Francis the Second, to her expulsion from Scotland, in which Elizabeth was not concerned against Mary; neither was there a murderer, traitor, or rebel, who fled from Scotland to England, that Elizabeth did not protect. Add to this, that when the wise Lord Burghley sat down to write formal reasons to justify the Scottish Queen's imprisonment, he found it too hard a task for his wis-

* A modern party historian has not blushed to avow the same sentiment: "It was therefore the *most salutary* measure" says Turner, "for all concerned, that Mary should remain as she was: and the candid moralist and soundest reasoner will not desire to contend that she deserved to be placed in a more favourable position."

dom and experience; so that he cast the responsibility of the violence offered her, upon inferior agents, who felt the injustice done to themselves, without questioning the rights of their mistress. At this time, Elizabeth had her envoy Randolph, in Scotland, attempting to raise a rebellion, in order to protect her agent Morton, one of the most guilty miscreants on earth. From all these facts, it is apparent that Elizabeth and her ministers considered every thing convenient to themselves to be consistent with law and agreeable to morals, without regarding the wrongs of the Scottish Queen."

The massacre of St. Bartholomew,* as Sir J. Mackintosh has remarked, really sealed the doom of the Queen of Scots. "In her execution, as in the massacre of the Huguenots, the project of destruction floated in the minds of the respective authors for a series of years. If Elizabeth marked but one victim, she cherished her dreadful purpose for a longer period than Catharine of Medicis, and she executed it with more ostentatious hypocrisy." From the period of this unhappy event, the system of spies, informers, forged letters, and intercepted correspondence, genuine or fabricated, was carried to its utmost height. We again quote the lucid narrative of Sir J. Mackintosh: "spurious letters, bearing the name of the Queen of Scots, or of some Catho-

* Mary having on the night of the 23d of August, been observed to be more cheerful than ordinary, her wardens sagaciously drew an inference that she must have known of the massacre, of which it was the eve. The important secret was communicated to Elizabeth with all due formality, and the poor Queen, utterly unconscious of the conjectures formed against her, was more closely imprisoned.

Carte, from Castelnau's Despatches.

lic exile, were introduced into the houses of Catholics, in order to discover, not their designs alone, but their sentiments, and to implicate them accordingly. Nothing remained for those who had the ability but to fly their country, at the peril of being branded as traitors, and of the confiscation of their estates. Of this number were Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, son of the last executed Duke of Norfolk, who had become a zealous Catholic, and the Earl of Northumberland, brother of the late Earl, who was executed for the Northern rebellion. [Of the former we shall have occasion to speak further in a future chapter.] Emissaries were scattered through the country, in order to catch and report what they heard; and these reports, however false or idle, were well received and acted upon. Throgmorton's plot, so called, was detected or invented, in 1584. Francis Throgmorton, a Catholic gentleman of Cheshire, was apprehended on the evidence of an alledged intercepted letter. He retracted confessions which he had made on the rack, repeated them on an assurance that he would be pardoned by the Queen, was betrayed, and again denied on the scaffold the truth of declarations which had been extorted from him, in the first instance by torture, in the next by the treacherous promise of the royal mercy. The truth of the conspiracy, then, may very well be doubted. Upon the rack it had been extorted from him, that there was a project on the part of Spain to invade England, and that the English Catholics were ready to join them. The house of Guise, the near relatives of Mary, was alledged to be preparing for the same purpose, and that the Duke of Guise was to be the leader of the enterprise. The common pretence for taking up

suspected or obnoxious persons, was that of carrying on a correspondence with the Queen of Scots: such was the charge made against Throgmorton; one presumption against whom was the flight of Lord Paget and Charles Arundel, upon occasion of his arrest. They, however, put forth a declaration in France, that they had fled, not because they were guilty, but because they feared the enmity of Leicester and Walsingham, and knew that innocence could not protect their lives against forged or forsworn evidence, the enmity of the Queen's ministers, and her own prejudice. . . . The conviction of Throgmorton, upon confessions obtained from him by deceitful promises and the fear of torture, shows that in England, at this period, life was as insecure as under the most implicit and barbarous despotism of the East."

The Scottish Queen, exclaims Burghley, never entered into any treaty, but only on purpose to abuse her Majesty. Had Burghley reversed his assertion, he would have spoken the truth, as a thousand facts evince. In all the treaties between Mary and Elizabeth, her design appears to have been to break the heart of the Scottish Queen:

> To keep the word of promise to the ear,
> And break it to the hope.
>
> *Shakspeare.*

The reader of these pages will have tracked a portion of the complicated train of hollow negociation and deceitful intrigue practised by Elizabeth in her dealings with the Queen of Scots. Sir James Mackintosh remarks, that "doubtless both Elizabeth and Mary were insincere. There was on the side of Elizabeth the harsh hypocrisy of superior

and absolute power; on the side of Mary, disguised hatred, with promises of devoted gratitude which she had no intention to keep. But the one dissembled from a throne, the other from a prison." One of Mary's great contemporaries, in an essay headed, "On wisdom, for a man's self," has the following reflection: "The best temperament is, to have openness in fame and opinion, secresy in habit, dissimulation in seasonable use, and a power to feign, *if there be no other remedy.*" It cannot be denied, that, for the reasons here given, Mary was sometimes compelled to adopt this maxim of the great Bacon. We have seen Elizabeth's arbitrary dealing with the illustrious captive whom she had in her power. We have seen her changing at will her wardens and the places of her imprisonment, without condescending to allow her victim to know beforehand the place of her destination. Mary knew the profligacy of the sycophants by whom Elizabeth was surrounded. Hints had reached her ear of the more than inuendoes thrown out by Leicester, and even by Right Reverend churchmen, of the expediency of delivering the Queen of England from her troublesome rival, either by the dagger or by poison, and consequently her suspicions were wakeful. It is a remark of the subtle Walsingham, that, "you can seldom persuade fear and suspicion to put on again the confidence of friendship and good will." What wonder if, in acting upon the defensive, Mary chose the only weapons with which she could combat against her deadly foe.

We have now to take our leave of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and see him consign his charge to the wardenship of Sir Ralph Sadler. We are already acquainted with this man, from his having had the

temporary charge of the Queen of Scots, during the absence of the Earl on the trial of the unfortunate Norfolk; and our knowledge of his character is not of a kind to bias us greatly in his favour. The Queen of Scots was removed from Sheffield Castle to Wingfield Manor House, under the escort of Somers, the Secretary of her new warden. This man made a minute report to Elizabeth of his conversation with Mary on the way. It is evident that he acted the twofold part of jailor and spy, and had been instructed to try and draw from her some avowal which could be turned to her prejudice. "She appears," says Sir J. Mackintosh, "to have been so closely kept, as to be ignorant of the affair of Throgmorton, and spoke of the Duke of Guise in such a manner as to show that she knew nothing of any design, real or pretended, of invading England. There is in the reported conversation a characteristic tone of sadness, playfulness, fascination, and finesse."

Journal of Sir Ralph Sadler.

August 31*st*. From a paper headed, "A brief of things passed between the Scottish Queen and my Lord of Shrewsbury and Sir Ralph Sadler, since the coming of the said Sir Ralph:"

First. The said Queen thanks the Queen's Majesty for making so good a choice of a grave and ancient counsellor, well known to her,* to supply his Lordship's place.

Secondly. That she has long looked for and earnestly desired her Majesty's answer upon the

* Sir Ralph Sadler was known to Mary as one of the York commissioners, a sad token of remembrance!—Sir W. Scott.

points long since moved by Sir Walter Mildmay and Mr. Beale.

Thirdly. That she may have leave to send her Secretary Nau to her Majesty, to deliver her mind thoroughly, to reply to her Majesty's observations, and to bring back her Highness's resolution on such things as shall be proposed to her.

Fourthly. That to show her good will, and sincere desire to do good offices for her Majesty, she desires permission to send a person into Scotland, to treat with the King her son. And if she fail to do as she promises to her Majesty, or be found false to her, surely her body here is a good pledge to answer for it. She beseeches her Majesty not to press her to give over all intelligence with her son, remembering that he is her only child and only comfort. That the stricter she is kept, the more will her son and her friends hold hard courses, which she beseeches her Majesty not to impute to her.

It was the policy of Elizabeth, frequently and unexpectedly to shift the residence of the Queen of Scots, in the fear that she may have formed political connections in the neighbourhood. Wingfield Manor was now destined for her abode.

September 2d.—From a paper headed "Talk between the Scottish Queen and Mr. Somers, riding from Sheffield to Wingfield," we extract the following. "After she had again uttered her griefs at her long imprisonment, having spent from her 24th to past her 40th year in captivity, which had brought upon her premature decay, she turned to other conversation. She said the Queen's Majesty had no confidence in her words, when she told the truth to Sir Walter Mildmay and Mr. Beale relative to what

has since happened in Scotland; of which, as well as of Mr. Secretary's unfavourable reception in Scotland, going thither without her recommendation, she foretold, but was not believed. And now that her Majesty had found her true in that, if her Highness would trust her, it would appear that she had means and credit to do her service. I told her (as I had before done), that upon proof of her having no unfit intelligence with her son, and with certain evil ministers about him, to the trouble of her Majesty, she might find her Highness her good friend. As to intelligence with my son, answered she, and as for esteeming those of whom he makes account, how can I but do that? For, if I should leave my son, who is to me more than any thing in the world, and should trust the Queen my good sister's favour, without ever obtaining it, I might be without both, and then what would become of me? As for my son, nothing can sever me from him; I live for him, and not for myself. Indeed, added she, if it would please her Majesty to be served by me, it is time; for in good faith, Mr. Somers, I fear my son will take another course shortly, without my direction. Perhaps I may not be able to stay him then; I am sure I can do so now. As to any foreign enterprise, by my troth I have heard of nothing of the kind. I will never consent to any thing that would trouble the state, the quiet of which I seek with all my heart. Indeed I have cause so to do, for were any unquietness to happen here, it would be sure to be laid to my charge, and I should only be in greater danger. As to instructions to the Duke of Guise; he was written to on a subject that has given me great uneasiness. It was reported, that, through her Majesty's agents, the King of Scots was to

perish by an extraordinary death; I have heard that my Lord of Ruthven told the King so; but, that as she hoped God would have her soul, she had suspended her judgment on the subject, and had said nothing of the report. . . Again, in respect of my being a Catholic Queen, that shall not affect my realm; and as to the Pope's bulls against those of the religion, I will take in hand to deal in that matter, and if my son be a protestant, then who will dare touch either realm respecting religion, without offending both? Thus, Mr. Somers, said she, I speak plainly to you, that you may testify of my good will to the Queen. I would to God the Queen, my good sister, knew my heart, which in good faith she will never find false to her, as long as I and my son may enjoy her Majesty's favour, as belongs to us, being of her blood, and so near to her. Madame, said I, as you have been plain with me, so give me leave to be equally open with you. If either you or your son say one single word on the subject of affinity, or of the inheritance to which it may lead, I know you will both offend her Highness and her people, without doing yourselves any good. She thanked me for my candour, and said she would take care how she offended her Highness in this regard.

I then ventured to ask her opinion whom she thought the King her son had a fancy to match, as I had heard the Princess of Lorraine named. She said there was such a motion in hand, but thought it would not be. She said that the Duke of Florence had offered his daughter, who was fifteen, and a million of crowns with her. Why, Madame, said I, do you think the Duke would send his daughter from the warm and dainty lands of Tuscany into that cold

realm of Scotland; yea, I warrant you, said she, smiling. I then asked her if there were any offer on the part of Spain; why, said she merrily, if the Low Countries might be thrown into the bargain, it might not be amiss. But truly, said she, I know of no match there.

Then turning the conversation, she asked me, whether I thought she would escape from thence or not, if she might. I answered plainly, I believed she would; for it is natural for every thing to seek liberty, when kept in strict subjection. No, by my troth, said she, ye are deceived in me; for my heart is so great, that I had rather die in this sort with honour, than run away with shame. I said I should be sorry to see the trial. Then she asked me, if she were at liberty, with the Queen Majesty's favour, whither I thought she would go. I think, said I, Madame, that you would go to your own in Scotland, as it is reasonable to expect you would, and command there. It is true, said she, I would go there; but only to see my son, and to give him good counsel. But, unless her Majesty would give her countenance and some maintenance in England, she would go into France, and live there among her friends, with the little portion she had there, nor dispose herself to marry again, seeing she had a son that was a man. As to Scotland, she could never stay long there, nor could she govern where she had received so much ill-treatment: her heart could not abide to look upon subjects that had done her so much wrong. I told her those she complained of must nearly all be dead; oh no, said she, there are enough of them yet remaining! She ended, by beseeching her Majesty to make a trial of her, that her latter days may be honourable, and that she

may pass the rest of her life out of this captivity, *as she terms it.*

Among "Instructions" for this removal, written in the Queen of England's own hand, and addressed to the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir Ralph Sadler, are the following:—"Whereas, for certain important causes, we have resolved that the Queen of Scots shall be removed, and you, our cousin of Shrewsbury, shall be unburthened of such a charge, after so long and careful an attendance on the same, to our great satisfaction, and to your credit and honour. After you shall have all things in readiness for removing, then we think it convenient you should acquaint the Queen, that she may prepare to remove, without letting her know to what place she shall be carried. And in case she shall refuse to be removed, pretending sickness, or any other impediment; in that case our pleasure is, that you shall try and win her over by persuasion, but not having that, you shall not in anywise forbear to cause her to be placed in some coach, or horse-litter, as you may think fittest for her, in the case she may be in.* And for the greater safety, you shall, in case you find it necessary, send to the sheriffs of Derby and Leicester, requiring them to give attendance. That watch and ward be kept in the night during her journey, as well about the house wherein she is lodged, as in

* Chalmers informs us that there is, in the Paper Office, a coarse and vulgar letter from Elizabeth to Shrewsbury, relative to the transfer of Mary to Wingfield, in which she says; "as the Scottish Queen may consider that this removal might occasion more harsh usage than she had received hitherto, she was to be informed, that her Majesty had no such intention, though the Scottish Queen well knew she deserved it, if she were dealt with according to her merits."

the villages within two or three miles' compass. That you avoid passing through any towns, and that you take order where you are to pass, that the people be not suffered to assemble."

On the 5th of September, the Queen of Scots reached her new destination at Wingfield Manor.

"Instructions for guarding the Queen of Scots at Wingfield."

"That the men that guard the Queen be of good religion, and void of corruption.

"That servants, such as laundresses, who have liberty to resort to the town, be restrained of some of their liberty.

"That she be not permitted to ride far abroad, but suffered on foot or in coach to take the air, with discretion.

"That all the soldiers within the said house shall wear their swords and daggers till they go to bed, and then that their weapons shall always be standing at their bedside, that they may be ready as occasion shall require. As for the health and recreation of the said Queen, we are pleased that you should permit her to take the air abroad in the fields, or on foot, or in coach, with a small number of her people, at such fit times as she shall require, unless you know urgent cause to the contrary; at such times she shall be guarded with at least [ ] men, all well-armed *with pistols and other shot*, with a convenient number of your people on horseback, appointed as it is meet; and none shall wander or straggle out of her sight, till she be returned to her chamber.

"That a troop of horsemen shall be employed as avant-couriers to secure the places about, while she is taking the air. In fine, you shall not suffer

any stranger to have access to, or conference with the said Queen, out of the hearing of you, or one of you. Nor shall you suffer any letters or books to be delivered to her, till you are acquainted with the contents of them.

"That the gates be locked up every day at eleven o'clock, and so kept till all the house have dined.

"That the constables shall increase their night watches in all places by two persons more than usual; and also shall appoint two to ward upon the high ways of every parish within their limits, in six miles compass."

In a second instruction it is repeated "that the laundresses should wash and dry within the house, and go very seldom forth.

"You shall be careful that no clothes, apparel, or other folded or close thing be suffered to be brought to the said Queen, without the same be first visited by you; and that you shall detain such things as you think not meet to be delivered to her.

"You shall place two discreet and trusty persons of yours to be porters, whereof one to belong to the one of you, and the other to the other of you. At night the keys are to be delivered to you, or one of you; and it will not be amiss that there should be double locks and double several keys to the said gates; each of you to have one key brought to you on the shutting of the gates.

"That watch be kept not only within the house, but that two watches shall be appointed to ward upon the highways of every parish within the limits of six miles compass.* And if they see any sus-

* The diseased mind of Elizabeth seems to have supposed, that the safety of the world depended on the safe keeping of

pected wandering *parson* [person ?] pass that way, or any man, woman, or boy, that such watchmen shall bring such suspected person to the next justice, there to be searched for letters or other things.

"If the Scotch Queen speak any thing of a treaty lately begun between her Majesty and her, for an increase of her liberty, to say, that you were not made acquainted with any such matter.

"And concerning the said Queen's writings, our will and pleasure is, that, immediately upon your imparting to her this command, you shall seize upon her writings and letters, both in her own custody, and in the hands of her secretaries, and of any others entrusted with her secret affairs. And if she, or her secretaries, or any other, shall refuse to deliver them up, or suffer you to take them, in a quiet manner, in that case our pleasure is, that you shall use any means to obtain possession of the same, by taking their keys, or otherwise breaking their coffers, desks, cabinets, or other things, where the same writings may be found. And then you shall place the said writings or letters in convenient coffers or secure trunks, and sealing up the same with each of your seals, you shall bring the said coffers and writings safely to us." *

the Queen whom she hated; that the Scottish Queen was one of the *weird sisters*, who could raise a storm, without any notice, at any hour of the day or night.—*Chalmers.*

* "Babington's conspiracy has been usually thought the cause of seizing the papers of Queen Mary. But here we see, that although the step was not taken, yet it was premeditated, and commissions actually granted for carrying it into effect, some years before the conspiracy was undertaken."—*Sir W. Scott.*

SIR RALPH SADLER TO BURGHLEY.

Yesterday evening, Tuesday, the 6th, I accompanied the Lord of Shrewsbury to take his leave of the Queen of Scots. She was very communicative, and wished his Lordship to be the bearer of letters from her to her Majesty, at the same time apologizing for the badness of the writing by reason of a sore finger, which she had strained, and here she showed us the middle finger of her right hand. Upon his Lordship's excusing himself from being the bearer, she begged me to convey them to her Majesty, as I do herewith, causing her Secretary Nau first to read them to me. Among other things, there is her answer respecting the recommendation to her of Archibald Douglas. She has a good liking of him as an honest man, but told me plainly, that she did not so esteem him as to make him her agent, if the Queen's Majesty, her good sister, permitted her to have one. If any, she would have one of her own choice, one for whom she could answer.*

This morning, the Earl of Shrewsbury departed,

* We quote Sir W. Scott's note on this passage. "Archibald Douglas was a kinsman of the Earl of Morton, and deep in his bloody intrigues. Though he was an accomplice in the murder of Darnley, James received him into favour, after his acquittal by a packed jury, and named him his ambassador resident at the court of England. He was privately leagued with the master of Gray, who betrayed, in some measure, Queen Mary to the axe. Gray rewarded Douglas, as traitors usually do their accomplices, by shifting the guilt to his shoulders. What object Queen Elizabeth's counsellors had in recommending such a person to be Mary's confidential agent, may be more easily guessed than ascertained."

to lodge this night at Leicester. On speaking to my lord of her Majesty's bad opinion of Mr. Bentall, the gentleman porter here, he determined to have him accompany him, which he did accordingly; though he assured me, that, from the long experience he had had of his honest dealing in his charge, and other services, he would have trusted him with his life and honour. And, for my part, I should do him wrong not to testify to his readiness and care to acquit himself of the trust committed to him since I have been here.

October 5th.—(*To the same.*)—I trust this Scottish Queen will hear very shortly her Majesty's determination respecting the sending of Secretary Nau to her Majesty. I think it would greatly satisfy her; and if I may utter my poor mind in the matter, I think it not amiss to put to proof the sincerity of the offers she makes; for she assures me that her son is wholly at her devotion, and will do nothing without her concurrence;* that he will be advised by her in all things for the preservation of peace and good feeling between the two realms, which,

* This is confirmed by a letter of James to his mother, of this date, in which he says: "I am surprised at having received no answer from you respecting the articles I sent you some time since by our cousin Lenox. I beg you to let no time pass without giving me your opinion thereon; assuring you, that, notwithstanding all the ills I have suffered through my love for you, I am in no ways changed in my duty towards you, nor my heart altered in affection. On the contrary, it has augmented by the opposition made to it, and I am determined to uphold you as a son in my situation ought to do. I pray God to second all our good intentions." Had James' conduct been in unison with his words, many of the misfortunes that befel his unhappy mother, as well as much of the obloquy that attaches to his name, would have been avoided.

she says, is the thing nearest to her heart; for that there is no natural-born subject of this realm better affected towards its weal and prosperity than herself; and that there is nothing she more rejoices in, and that more advances her house, than that she is descended of the noble blood of England. Now, in my poor opinion, it will not be amiss to make trial of this, though I remit it all to the wisdom of her Majesty and her honourable council.

The following passages from Walsingham's correspondence with Sadler, at this period, are characteristic of the man.

September 9th.—Her Majesty is very well pleased with the report of the discourse between Mr. Somers and the Queen, and gives him credit for his wise and discreet answers, as also for the questions he proposed to her. She is right glad, as well in regard to the furtherance of her own service, as for your better ease and assistance, that she made choice of him to accompany her.

September 16th.—I cannot yet draw from her Majesty, a resolution touching the Scottish Queen's request of sending up Nau. Mr. Somers knows that we are long in our determinations here, especially in matters subject to jealousy, a humour that daily increases. Her Majesty marvels that the said Queen should approve of the hard proceedings in Scotland [against those concerned in the Raid of Ruthven.] Considering what the issue is of violent counsels there, she should, for the safety of the King her son, however her own passion may carry her, both wish and advise a more temperate course. The Earl of Shrewsbury is treated very generously here by her Majesty, who is very desirous to terminate the difference between him, and the lady his

wife,—a matter that will not, I think, be disposed of so easily. Of late, one Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit, was taken on board a Dutch vessel, and sent here to her Majesty. This capture led to the discovery of a very dangerous plot for invading the realm, the particulars of which were in the Italian tongue; and though it was torn to pieces, and diverse parts lost, yet have we gathered the sense thereof, which I send you here inclosed. We are given to understand that your charge, and the young King, her son, were acquainted with the same, and gave their allowance thereto.

September 30th.—I find by your letters that you are very desirous to know her Majesty's resolution respecting the Scotish Queen's request to send Nau hither. I must inform you that her Majesty means to defer the same till she has conferred with Mr. Davison, who is just arrived in London, wishing to learn from him the present state of things in Scotland.

On the 8th of next month, her Majesty means to have a full consultation respecting the course, that, by advice of council, shall be thought best to follow in regard to your charge. The Earl of Shrewsbury earnestly presses her Majesty for her discharge. Upon the resolution then taken will of course depend your own release, of which her Majesty is mindful.

October 5th.—By certain intercepted letters her Majesty finds that the Queen of Scots is very anxious to learn, by some of her secret friends here, her Majesty's resolution in respect to the change of her warden, which she greatly fears. Her pleasure therefore is, that you should keep a vigilant eye

over her, lest, upon doubt of the change, she should lay plans for her liberty. And yet her Majesty would have matters so contrived, that she may have no cause to think that she is mistrusted. She would be glad to know what number of men you have there, with what weapons they are furnished, and what gentlemen of strength and trust live nearest to you, to lend their aid in case of need. I cannot get her Majesty to come to any resolution respecting Nau's coming up, which, I suppose, would control her, and perhaps be a means of removing such jealousies as might induce her to take some extraordinary step.

There is some reason to doubt the soundness of one Salter, a servant of the Earl's, who, I understand, fills the place of gentleman porter; you will, therefore, do well to watch his movements.

October 6th.—Her Majesty's pleasure is, that you should without loss of time send up one Loggin, late servant to the Earl, who lives within two miles of Wingfield. He is well known to all my Lord's men; use nothing else towards him than good words and encouragement, directing him with a letter to myself. I think it would be well for Mr. Somers to talk with the party, and use some comfortable speeches to him. There is one Hawkesworth, a gentleman well-affected, who lives within two miles of Sheffield, one much disliked by the Queen of Scots, and who, it is thought, can discover many particulars of the state of things thereabouts. You will do well to direct Mr. Somers to grow into some acquaintance with him, upon some apt occasion, and to use the best means he can to draw from him any thing that may be worth the knowing. It

were also good that the gentleman should be persuaded to come up hither of himself; and so I commit you to God.

P. S.—Loggin is to be so dealt with, that his coming up may seem to proceed from himself, and not by any direction from hence.

October 6th.—A servant of the Earl of Shrewsbury, named Baldwin, being discovered to have secret intelligence with the Queen there, is apprehended. It appears by a letter sent him by one of her servants, that she is very anxious to know whether she shall be removed from the Earl's custody. Her Majesty thinks it meet, as I yesterday hinted, that you should have a watchful eye over her; and that, if your own servants who attend there be not furnished with daggers or pistols,* you should secretly procure them from some of the well-affected gentlemen in that country. It is also thought meet that you should, underhand, learn how the well-affected gentlemen, next adjoining you, are furnished with the same, in case, on a sudden, there should be any need of their service; and so, in haste, I commit you to God.

Sadler to Walsingham.

October 8th.—In respect to the change of her warden, this Queen has often talked to me on the subject, as she had understood from my Lord of Shrewsbury himself his desire to be relieved from

* On one occasion, Mary complained that Shrewsbury's man had entered her presence, armed with pistols. The Earl was exculpated, and his conduct approved, by Elizabeth, who probably would not have been sorry if some *accidental* fray had given him opportunity for using them in her chamber.—*Lodge.*

his charge, after so many years. And I assure you, so far as I can discover from her speeches or behaviour, she makes no such great account of this change, provided she is well used, and her person in safety, of which, she says, she had formerly some cause of distrust. She is now well assured of her Majesty's great care for the health and safety of her person, by her sending her physicians in her need, by the permission granted her to visit Buxton, when she required it, and for which she considers herself much beholden to you. As to any disposition to seek her liberty, her own state of body, and particularly an ailing in her left foot, are far from being favourable to such an idea, to say nothing of the strength of this house, having two guarded entrances, the gentleman porter ever at the one, with his company of four or five soldiers, and an equal number at the other. There is a night-watch of eight soldiers, of whom four at least are always under the outward windows of her apartments, while the rest go their rounds; they are visited at 10 and 2, and are furnished with fire-arms and halberts, besides two that watch and ward night and day within, at the door going to her apartments. Add to this, the difficult passage of the country, which is encompassed on every side by wild mountains and high rocks, and all the villages about keeping watch. The distance of this place also from any of her friends, or any who would harbour a project of her escape, and the residences of so many honest gentlemen on the road sides in every direction, take away the fear of any danger. Now as to my own servants, I have forty-three men, every man with his sword, dagger, and pistol, and some with long shot, and in every chamber where they lodge, within the

house, there is for every man his halbert or pike. And here are, belonging to my Lord and me, and at my command, good horses and geldings standing in the stables within the base-court of the castle, all ready on the shortest warning.

As to Salter, now gentleman porter of this place, I see no cause to mistrust him; he observes his charge very carefully; he is ever at the gate. He has the character among my Lord's oldest servants of being a very honest gentleman; and yet I will keep an eye on his doings, according to her Majesty's command. Let me hint, however, that the same person who informed against Mr. Bentall, late gentleman porter, may perhaps also stand in the way of this man.

With respect to the Jesuit, Creighton, she protested most earnestly, that, neither by herself, nor through any other, had she ever dealt with that person; all she had ever heard of him was, that he was a good schoolmaster, and had rendered great service by training up children in learning.

In regard to her son's severe proceedings in Scotland, she answered, that, if she had been believed in time, she would have interposed her credit and authority. But how could she do it, having no way to send to her son? She said that if her son had acted firmly, it might have been for an example to others; besides, these men had had grace shown them once or twice before. I refer to her Majesty's own conscience, said she, what is proper to be done to subjects that stand up against their prince. As for herself, though they had offended her, she with all her heart forgot and forgave; that there was nothing in the world she so abhorred as the shedding of blood; a disposition of mind in which, by God's grace, she would ever continue.

In conclusion, she besought her Majesty to admit of Nau's journey, and also that she might be permitted to write to her son, and that the Lord of Hunsdon, or some other, her Majesty may appoint, should be the bearer of the letters.

My opinion is, that her Majesty's admitting Nau to come to her from the Queen, *can do no harm.**

October 14*th.*—SADLER TO THE SAME.

According to the Queen Majesty's pleasure, I have sent up Loggin to you. As to William Hawkesworth, he came yesterday from six miles beyond Sheffield. After Mr. Somers had assured him of the favourable opinion conceived of him for his good affection in religion, and dutiful obedience to her Majesty, whereof he ought to receive great comfort, he tried to discover some particulars from him. He wormed out the fact that there had been some unkindness between Mr. Bentall and him. That he had since been in service with Sir Godfrey Foljambe.†

* Robertson has well characterized this species of intercourse between the queens. "Elizabeth was carrying on one of those fruitless negociations with the Queen of Scots, which it had become almost matter of form to renew from year to year. They served not only to amuse that unhappy Princess with some prospect of liberty, but furnished an apology for eluding the solicitations of foreign powers in her behalf, and were of use to overawe James, by showing him, that she could at any time set free a dangerous rival to dispute his authority. Those treaties she suffered to proceed to what length she pleased, and never wanted a pretence for breaking them off when they became no longer necessary."

† Of this gentleman's superabundant zeal, we have the following extraordinary example:

Sir Godfrey Foljambe to the Earl of Shrewsbury,—Having received your Honour's letter for the apprehension and com-

He craves pardon that he may not be compelled to go up to Court, as he was not provided with means for that purpose. . . . The Queen thinks the time very long, till she get some satisfactory answer from you. I comforted her by the hope shortly to hear of her request about Nau being complied with . . . As I pray

mitting of diverse papists, recusants, mentioned in the said letters, I have accordingly apprehended the Lady Constance Foljambe, *my grandmother!* and have her now in my custody; whom, by God's help, I shall safely keep, and have forthcoming, when she shall be called for by your good Lordship, or any other appointed by her Highness.

In another letter we hear that the poor old Lady, "by reason of sickness and her great age, is unable to travel either on horseback or foot, and begs to be allowed to remain in her house, from which there was no danger of her escaping." The secret of Sir Godfrey's Foljambe's zeal afterwards transpires: he "had refused to obey an order of council for restoring to her her living, goods, and chattels; wherefore, being left utterly destitute in her very old age," she conjures the Earl of Shrewsbury to intercede in her favour; and to the Earl's honour be it said that he applied to Burghley in her behalf, and had her restored to the comforts suited to her age and rank.

One instance more, and we have done. It is in a letter from two of the Earl of Shrewsbury's Pursuivants.—"We first made secret inquiry, and then search for seminary-priests, and other papist recusants, as well residents as lurkers, within the hundred of Appletree. Constance, the wife of John Sherwin, one who has been a papist and a recusant, now offers to go to the church, hear service and sermons and become a new woman. But as your Honour's command was specially to commit her, we have so done, to the goal. As for old John Sherwin, her husband, he keeps his bed and house continually, is ninety-one years old, blind and impotent, and in such a case that we dare not, through fear of his sudden death, commit him to goal, nor yet remove his body out of the house; and if his wife be from him any time, it is thought he cannot live. Of these two persons, for these causes, we beseech your Honour to have pity."

much to be rid of my charge here, I trust that God or her Majesty will deliver me shortly.

October 17th—WALSINGHAM TO SADLER.

. . . The only cause of her Majesty's not consenting to Nau's coming hither, is the expected arrival of Gray from Scotland, which is daily looked for. Her Majesty would not wish Nau and him to have any dealings together, either openly or underhand; for he is a devoted servant of the Scottish Queen,* and in religion altogether addicted to popery; and yet he is sent here from the King her son, for the especial purpose of knitting up some straiter amity between the Queen's Majesty and him. I am of opinion, that, without that Queen's assent, there will be no hold taken on Scotland; and therefore I am, and have always been, persuaded that there should be some trial made of her offers, with such pledges as she promises to give, wherewith I see no cause but that her Majesty should rest satisfied. The great hinderance is the jealousy, that each of these princesses has of the other, which I see it will be very difficult to remove. . . . With respect to what has passed between Baldwin, a servant of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Carle, one of that Queen's Secretaries, I enclose you a copy of the letter that passed between them, by which it appears that Baldwin is very intimate with these people.

* How egregiously Walsingham was, in the present instance, mistaken, the sequel will prove. This faithless ambassador was soon gained over by Elizabeth's bribes to act as a spy on the Scottish Queen, to sow division between her and her son, and finally to connive at the murder, against which he had his sovereign's orders to remonstrate.

October 20th.—SADLER TO WALSINGHAM.

This Queen has written a letter to her Majesty, and is very desirous it may be safely delivered into her own hand. She has also written to you, as well as to the French ambassador; you will do well to look into their letter, if you think good, as it has not been opened here. She feels exceedingly grieved at the Countess of Shrewsbury, for the foul slanders she and others of her family have raised against her. She says that they have touched her so nearly abroad in honour and reputation, that she can no longer support it, trusting that her Majesty will see justice done her, and that the said Countess may be forced either to prove or deny what she has said. She spoke very feelingly; her words were: "Either let me be cleared, and my honour saved, or else let me be treated according to my deserts." She says she has many other things with which to charge the said Countess, but which she will disclose to her Majesty only.

As to Carle and Baldwin, they are both false varlets; but particularly Baldwin, who, as I hear, is a subtle lewd fellow, and I fear there are other of the Earl's men, as bad as he, and yet for the generality of those here, I find them so honest and dutiful in all outward show, that I cannot suspect any of them. But if they be otherwise than they appear, then it is not fitting that this Lady should remain in this place; for if they prove false, no vigilance of mine can be of any avail. If, therefore, it be meant that the Earl should be wholly discharged from the office of her warden, the sooner in my poor opinion that it be done the better. The Castle of Tutbury

might soon be put in readiness to receive her; and if such be her Majesty's pleasure, by a warrant to the sheriff of that shire where my Lord Paget's house is,* all his household staff, plate, and *nappery* [linen], which is at hand, might be conveyed to Tutbury. Should the Earl be discharged, I do not think it proper that she should remain in any of his houses, but be removed, and all his servants discharged. I have learned since my coming here, that the Castle of Tutbury is a safer place to guard her in than this, and is distant only fourteen miles. But I trust that her Majesty will remember her most gracious promise in respect to my years, to release me of this charge. I daily expect this indulgence, for indeed my old and feeble body is not able to endure it. I end with my most humble and hasty prayer, that her Majesty, most healthfully and prosperously, may live and reign the years of Nestor.

October 28th.—WALSINGHAM TO SADLER.

Her Majesty is now resolved as to Nau's coming up hither. But, lest under colour of delivering the Queen his mistress' mind to her Majesty, he should practice with the ill-affected here, her pleasure is, that you shall send some well-chosen and trusty man of your own with him, to overlook his doings, and not permit him to have communication with any one on his way hither, as well as during the time of his abode here, which we shall manage

* Lord Paget fled on the discovery of Throgmorton's plot, embarking on the coast of Sussex in a vessel provided for him by the unfortunate Earl of Northumberland. His property and estates were confiscated. He died at Brussels in 1589, "a sad and universal loss," says Camden, "to the commonwealth of learning."

when he arrives here. And that the said Queen may not mislike her servant's passing under *a kind of guard*, her pleasure is that you should acquaint her with these arrangements. Tell her, that, as it has pleased her Majesty to extend this extraordinary goodness towards her, so as to suffer a man of hers to have access to her and freely communicate what he has in charge, she strictly commands him not to have any underhand dealings, and that he shall rigidly observe her Majesty's orders as to his conduct during the time he is here. If he fail, it will utterly preclude any such power for the time to come.—Her Majesty is also pleased that you should deal sharply with Carle and Baldwin; and advises you to find an apt occasion to show her these letters that passed between them; and to profit by that opportunity, by asking what resolution she would have taken, in case her Majesty had thought good to have removed her out of the Earl of Shrewsbury's custody, and what reason she had to think, that there would not be as great care of her safety, and as good usage in time to come, as heretofore. On this point, you are requested to press her strongly to deal plainly with you, in regard to her cause for disliking such change, or suspecting any sinister motives. But be sure, before you touch upon the subject of the letter in question, to let her know that her Majesty has yielded to her request relative to the coming hither of Nau; otherwise the knowledge of the intercepting of this letter will put her so far out of tune, that you will draw nothing from her after. Her Majesty would have you in some pleasant sort and as it were half-jestingly, to give her to understand, that both herself and her Majesty are but little beholden to Carle for so far abusing you, as to

bring you within the title of pedlars, or retailers of small wares. Should Carle not deal plainly, her Majesty would have you urge the Queen his mistress to require him to acquaint you with all that has passed; if, on the contrary, she shows more anxiety to cover Baldwin's errors, than to satisfy her Majesty, then will she give occasion for the continuance of that jealousy and distrust, which she seems now greatly to desire to have removed.

October 29th.—WALSINGHAM TO THE SAME.

I have of late not been unmindful of you. I have reminded her Majesty of her promise made you, that you should not be long continued in your charge. I have acquainted her, upon the report of Mr. Henry Sadler, with the coldness of that country, and the foulness of the situation, whereby you are debarred from your wonted exercise, which has principally tended to the preservation of your health; this, together with the extraordinary anxiety in respect to your charge, cannot but shorten your days. I am happy to say, that her Majesty is determined to relieve you; and, for that purpose, I have received orders to send for the Lord St. John, to whom her Majesty means to commit the charge of that Lady. Directions are also to be given to the Sheriff of Staffordshire, for removing the Lord Paget's household stuff to Tutbury. Somebody shall also be appointed for making provision of wine and beer; if in this, or in other things, we do not progress so speedily as you could look for, I beg you to remember that there is nothing here so rare as resolution.

November 3d.—Her Majesty would be glad that the determination now taken for the Queen's removal, should be kept as secret as possible, till

Nau's return. And therefore some address will be necessary, in preparing the house for her occupation, and other arrangements. It is determined that the removal shall take place towards the end of the month, at which time the Lord St. John will be down.

The Master of Gray had audience on Sunday last. As he is young in years, so is he in judgment, and therefore not best chosen to deal in great matters. It is thought the King stands better affected towards him than to any other man in Scotland. I leave you to judge what fruits will follow a government guided by a young king, and a young council. Let me know when Nau sets out, that I may prepare his lodging, and give orders for his treatment on arriving here.

November 6th.—SADLER TO WALSINGHAM.

I informed the Queen of Scots that her Majesty had consented that Nau should repair to her Highness. She expressed her hearty thanks, and appeared much grieved that in consequence of the malady in her right arm, which has obliged her to keep her bed these three days, she could not write as she intended. She is a good deal indisposed, as not only her arm, but her leg and foot are both much inflamed. She wishes Nau to wait a day or two longer, in the hope to be able to write; so that I suppose he will depart on Monday or Tuesday next, travelling partly by his own and partly by hired horses. I have appointed John Danet to accompany him, for the reasons you stated.

I then demanded of the Queen, in a merry kind of way, supposing Carle's letter to be genuine, why

she was so anxious to know about her removal; and begged her to be candid with me, and say how she would take it, should any removal be in contemplation. She assured me, that, as she had before stated, she knew nothing relative to Carle's letter. As to removing, she said that there were some in whose custody she would not like to be. That as to my Lord of Shrewsbury, she was not so solicitous about his departure, provided she might be in safety under some honourable person and in some honourable place. Her warden, she said, should be a person able to defend her against all persons, and who would give a just account of her to the Queen's Majesty, her good sister, of whose favour to her she could not doubt. I assured her that as to the place and person appointed for her, she might banish from her mind all the vain suspicions by which she was haunted. And so I left her, as I saw she suffered much, and was much weakened by want of sleep and sustenance; she, however, appeared much comforted by her Majesty's favour towards her. I forbore to show her the Association of the noblemen till she be in better strength. This afternoon, learning that the Queen felt somewhat more at ease, though she still kept her bed, I thought good to send Mr. Somers to her, to inquire when Nau would be ready for his journey. She trusted on Tuesday at the farthest, by which time she hoped her arm would be sufficiently restored to enable her to write. Nau had wished to go to London, but Mr. Somers thought well to advise that he should not pass that way, lest the French ambassador should dislike the not seeing him. She advised his lodging a few miles from London, and then riding straight to

Kingston, without entering London till he had been with her Majesty. She approved the plan, and said she would give him directions accordingly.

You remember, that, when I came to Sheffield to take this charge in the absence of the Earl of Shrewsbury, I showed this Queen her Majesty's letter, for her better satisfaction. And now, as his Lordship is giving up his trust, and as she is to be removed to another place, a letter from her Majesty's own hand, or with the sign manual, would be kindly taken, and remove all jealousy. Were this done, we should find her more willing to remove; otherwise I fear we shall have more ado with her than I could wish, to induce her to remove willingly. The Queen says she knows nothing of the Master of Gray, nor of what state or credit he is in Scotland.

As to Daniel Loggin, he utterly denies the charges against him. I have committed him to the Sheriff's custody till he shall hear farther from me.

November 11th.—WALSINGHAM TO SADLER.

The contents of your letter of the 6th have been communicated to her Majesty, who is very well satisfied with the manner in which you have proceeded with the Queen, your charge, as also with her answers, especially those concerning the Association; and she is very desirous to know what farther Nau has to deliver to her.—My Lord Treasurer is of opinion, that forty soldiers more will be sufficient for a place of such strength as the castle of Tutbury.

November 15th.—The order for the removal of the Queen has been referred to the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Leicester, and myself. The following are some of the points on which we have concluded:

Let the house be furnished as early as possible; and as plate, sheets, and linen, cannot well be sent down before the time of removal, the Earl of Shrewsbury will furnish these articles in the meantime. With regard to linen, it is hoped that my Lord's tenants and the gentlemen of the county will be able to supply the want, by the loan of their own for a time. Let six soldiers watch nightly, and some two of your servants be appointed to keep a look over them. The assistance of the Sheriff and other gentlemen should be required in the removal. It is agreed that a letter from her Majesty to the Queen shall be sent out of hand, to acquaint her with the removal and the cause of the same. Nau is expected to-day. He is to be lodged at your house, but the expenses to be defrayed.

You may send for as many weapons, pistols, &c., of the Lord Paget's, as you may have occasion for.

November 17th.—It appears that Tutbury cannot be ready before the twenty-third. The Earl of Shrewsbury says he cannot support the charges of provision any longer; let Mr. Somers make arrangements in this regard; the allowance of £30 a week will be reasonably increased. I am hastening all I can the despatch of the Lord St. John, that you may be eased of your charge; I doubt not but you will have him there at the end of the month, or within four or five days after, at the furthest. To-morrow you will receive two letters of her Majesty; the one for the Queen, the other for yourself, authorizing you to make the remove, &c.

November 16th.—THOMAS STRINGER TO SHREWSBURY.

Directions were sent from Mr. Secretary, about

a fortnight since, to the Sheriff of Staffordshire, that he should bring all my Lord Paget's household stuff to Tutbury, with speed, and that my Lord St. John should meet him there, to receive charge of this Queen; and Mr. Chancellor [Mildmay] and Mr. Somers dining with Mr. Zouch, on Friday last, at Offerton, letters came from Mr. Secretary, saying that an officer of the wardrobe, and one of the cofferer's clerks were despatched from the Court with a warrant from my Lord Treasurer for money to supply the wants at Tutbury. But yesterday, news came that the officer of the wardrobe was sick, and not able to come; so that he was to move your Honour, from her Majesty, to continue your provision longer. Should that be, there is not wine to serve a fortnight, therefore your pleasure must be known for a supply. I can learn of no more than six quarters of malt in the bailiff of Worksop's hands, so that all the drink in the house will serve for little more than a month. This house is a place of great waste diverse ways, especially of lights,* and at this time the roads are marvellously foul. Mr. Secretary wrote to know how many people were attending the Scottish Queen, and what her diet was, how many messes of meat they had daily, and what the charge would be weekly. He returned word that the Queen has sixteen dishes at the first and second courses, the Master of the Household and her chief officers ten at the first and second courses, her gentlewomen eight dishes, and the rest of the women five dishes at every meal. The peo-

* During a dozen years, Elizabeth had been disputing with Shrewsbury about Mary's weekly allowance, we soon see her squabbling with Sadler about ends of candles.—*Chalmers.*

ple to guard her are not under one hundred gentlemen, yeomen, officers, and fifty soldiers. She has no household furniture either for herself or people; all is your Lordship's. The Queen's Majesty and Council are to furnish Tutbury with hangings, bedding, linen, plate, brass, pewter, and other furniture, which will amount to a huge sum of money, besides the charge of her ordinary diet, wine, spices, and other things. Depend upon it they will be weary with looking to it. Some that were your hollow friends thought your charge too great; now they will see the contrary to their shame. It seems they are all weary, Mr. Somers and all, of entering upon this charge, and are sorry her Majesty gave your Honour her word for your discharge; it therefore behooves your Lordship, who have spent so good a piece of your life in keeping her, to seek at once to be delivered. I verily think your enemies wish her to continue with you, that by acting the part of villainous spies in your house, they may invent lies to breed suspicion in her Highness against you. Your Lordship must be earnest for your deliverance. Mr. Chancellor and his people are well enough here; for your people take all the pains, and they get all the thanks. On Tuesday Mr. Chancellor gave Carle and Bastian leave to go with me hence to Nottingham; and on Wednesday they came into the horse-fair at Linton, and rode up and down, which was more liberty than I ever knew your Lordship give them. Many, as I hear, think that none of your Lordship's people have any thing to do with this charge; it is hard for us to take all the trouble, and they have all the credit. Mr. Chancellor is wise; he had rather stay here till my Lord St. John comes, than go to bare walls and barer board

at Tutbury. I greatly doubt that your Lordship will be won to this charge; the Queen's Majesty will be fain to continue you in it; but as you have tasted the charge and grievance of the same, those who bear you duty will be sorry to see you make any evil match for yourself. If you are won to it, I pray God you be no loser thereby, for now is the time to mend the allowance, or be delivered altogether.

November 19th.—Her Majesty finding by your letters, that the Queen is in a very weak state of body, has deferred signing her letters, being very loath the said Queen should be removed in the case she is, unless she herself is content. The removal is, therefore, left to your own discretion. Her Majesty also begs you to have especial care, that the charges be no greater than the necessity of the service requires. The Lord St. John is come up to Court; he shall be despatched as soon as conveniently may be. *Monsieur* Nau* had his first audience yesterday of her Majesty, who seems very well satisfied with the conversation she had with him; this moves her to have the greater care of the Queen, his mistress.

November 20th.—My Lord of Shrewsbury sends word that his provisions will stretch only to the last of the month, you must look out. Her Majesty defers signing the two letters: Nau desires that the Queen may not be acquainted with the determination of removing her, till his return; otherwise he

* The reader will not fail to mark the studied change here from plain Nau, to *Monsieur* Nau. He was now acting as a kind of envoy, a point which the courtly Secretary does not overlook.

doubts it may breed some jealousy, and lead to difficulties.

November 25th.—SADLER TO WALSINGHAM.

I have been looking out for the Lord St. John's coming to Wingfield to convey this Queen to Tutbury. Let me signify my poor mind to you. It will be much more commodious for him as well as for myself, for him to find her at Tutbury at his coming, and be there ready to receive his charge. The roads are very foul at this season; but that is not the worst of the matter. He will find here neither meat, drink, nor good lodging, our provisions being all spent, and no means for a new supply, especially of beer and wine. Nor is there any man's meat nor horse's meat to be got in the villages about. The Lord St. John had better proceed directly to Tutbury, where, at least, there are beer and wine, and wood, and coal, laid in. The Queen is better in health, though she cannot as yet set her foot to the ground; I will not say it is the gout. She says she is very willing to remove, whenever she has the Queen's letters; and yet, marry! she seems very desirous to stay, at least till Nau return. There is every reason why we should tarry here no longer. The Queen's sore foot may be laid on a pillow in her coach. In my poor opinion the sooner we are on the move the better.

November 26th.—WALSINGHAM TO SADLER.

My Lord St. John is writing his despatch; but by reason of the parliament, the negociations with Nau and the Scottish ambassador, and other weighty causes, I think her Majesty will have no time to resolve till next week. Meantime, Nau is very de-

sirous that his mistress should not be removed till his return, and her Majesty is willing to assent to it. I give you notice of this, that provisions for some ten or twelve days longer may be provided. If you are pressed in this particular, you will do well to discharge some of the Earl's people.

I do think that the estimate of the increase of charges sent by you, will hasten her Majesty in the treaty on foot.*

Till yesterday, Monsieur Nau's negociations with her Majesty were private. Yesterday he had conference with some of the lords of the council, to whom he made three requests: First, That the treaty might go forward with his mistress; Secondly, That she may not be removed till the conclusion of the treaty, or, at least, till his return; Thirdly, That my lady of Shrewsbury, and her two sons, might openly confess the untruth of these imputations that have been brought against the character of his mistress, which touch her life and honour.

November 28th.—The Earl of Shrewsbury has agreed to a new supply of provisions for a fortnight longer. Pray keep an exact estimate of the new charges, which have now grown to £100 the week. This will hasten the remove. Her Majesty has not yet signed the two letters. Monsieur Nau's despatch shall be hastened with all convenient speed.

December 3d.—By her Majesty's own act, contained in this despatch, you will perceive that full power is given you for the removal of the Queen. Should she seek to delay it, through colour of any

* This is a pleasant hit from the Secretary at that spirit of parsimony in the character of Elizabeth, of which so many examples are on record.

pretended sickness, she will not show herself well-advised. I know the same will be taken in ill part by her Majesty, as, on the other side, her Highness seems disposed, if the said Queen shall confirm herself, to extend greater favour to her than she has hitherto done. This day her Majesty has also delivered her determination to the Lord St. John, to repair to Tutbury to receive the charge at your hands. I will hasten him down as quick as I am able, so that you may return to eat your Christmas pie in season.*

I hope her Majesty's letter from her own hand will remove all doubt as to your longer abode here.

December 5th.—Her Majesty having declared her resolution to the Lord St. John, I do all I can to hasten him. He is obliged to proceed the more

* Nothing could surely be more tantalizing than this temptation of "the Christmas pie," at a season of such alarming scarcity, and when it appeared to depend on the fiat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, whether they were to eat or drink at all. Sir Walter Scott says that "this seems to have been in some degree an artificial scarcity, raised or increased by the Earl of Shrewsbury's retainers, by the private instructions of their master, who longed to see his castle delivered of these unwelcome guests, and judiciously thought that famine and cold were the most likely means to hasten their change of residence."

Some queries in the "Sadler Papers," let us into the secret of other grievances. "What household stuff has she [the Queen of Scots] of her own, and how much remains serviceable of what was supplied? *Answer:* The Queen has no household stuff of her own, neither hangings, bedding, plate, nappery, kitchen vessels, *nor any thing else*, but occupies all my Lord's. Much of the Earl's stuff is wasted and worn; there is nothing of it serviceable saving the hangings, and a chair or two. The house is in reasonable good repair, saving glazing, and some other trifling things."

slowly, as her Majesty will fain have him conduct his preparations with a kind of secrecy; a thing impossible to be done, and surely altogether unnecessary: but such is her Majesty's pleasure. Nau gives out, that his mistress has grown into a dislike of Tutbury; this shows she has no will to remove from where she now is, where doubtless she has found fit persons to serve her turn, of which change of place and warden will deprive her. I greatly doubt whether she will be induced to remove before Nau's return, which I will hasten all I can.—We begin to conceive some hopes of the Master of Gray's negociation, who proceeds more plainly than we looked for. A great spite has grown between him and Nau; there has been much address used to hide it; but all would not do. I *suppose* that Nau greatly complains to his mistress of the Master of Gray, in the letters which I now send.

December 5th.—SADLER TO ELIZABETH.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,—Your letters vouchsafed to so poor a man as myself, and especially that precept in your Highness' own hand,—"Use old trust, and new diligence," together with your most gracious promise shortly to relieve me of this charge, have not a little comforted me. The precept I will not fail faithfully to perform as long as I have truth; the first part I will perform both with body and mind, the latter I want no good will and mind to perform, wishing that my old body were as able to endure such pain, as my good mind has the will to do. But I assure your Majesty, on my fidelity to your Highness, that I find myself altogether unable to endure the life which I lead in this service, trusting that your Majesty will release me of the same,

according to your most gracious promise; so that now, in my old days, for the short time I have to live in the world, I may serve God and your Majesty at my own house, with such rest and quietness as my old years require; which I most humbly require at your Majesty's hands for God's sake, to whom I will incessantly pray for your Majesty.

And now to say something touching this Queen: —I find her much altered from what she was when I was first acquainted with her. This restraint of liberty, with the grief of mind caused by the same, I think have *wrought some good effect in her;* and if she do not greatly dissemble, truly she is much devoted to your Majesty, and most desirous of your gracious favour before all other princes in the world. So she says and protests before God; and it is the part of an honest man to judge the best of all princes, so do I think she has the intention to perform what she says. I doubt not but your Majesty will so deal with her, that if she means not as sincerely as she protests, the want thereof may fall upon herself, without leaving her any advantage against your Majesty; but this I leave to the consideration of your Majesty, and of your grave counsellors, who, I doubt not, will sound the matter to the bottom.

December 7th.—SADLER TO WALSINGHAM.

After the Queen had read her Majesty's letters, and expressed her satisfaction in viewing the same, and with the words written in her Majesty's own hand, she said she wondered she had no news from Nau by this despatch. She said she looked to see him, as was promised, previously to her removal. Then how painful soever it might be to her, she would comply. But she was surprised and offended

that Nau had not written by his despatch, and insinuated a mistrust that his letters had not had good passage. I tried to satisfy her distrusts, but not very satisfactorily. We have provisions till the 25th; but if Nau does not return before that day, and if her removal is to be deferred an account of her foot and side, which, she says, are but little amended, I know not how we shall do. There is no town within eight miles to supply us with beef, mutton, &c., and no pasture for cattle if they should be bought. Every thing in my Lord's neighbourhood is used up, by this long living of so many persons here. Coal is our chief fuel, which has to be brought three miles off; the roads are exceedingly foul and deep, and when the river is up by the rains, the bullocks used for draught are obliged to swim through, to the great grudging of the people.

December 8th.—SADLER TO THE SAME.

I received your letters of the 5th. You make mention of a letter of Nau to his mistress, but I found none, and I write this off immediately that it may be sent with all speed. As it is now twelve days since she received any letter of his, she taxes him severely, so that I have much ado to keep her in any tune of patience. All this is increased by the pain she suffers, not being able to stretch her left foot to the ground. She is much dejected, and observed to me, with tears, that her left leg had wasted and shrunk from its natural size, and could hardly be restored without the benefit of a natural hot bath. I think you guess right as to the cause of her dislike to go to Tutbury: all her old acquaintances are to tarry behind; and yet she still says that, when Nau returns with a satisfactory message

from the Queen as to the person to whose custody she is to be committed, she will remove without farther delay. I therefore humbly beseech her Majesty to satisfy this Lady, and that the Lord St. John may follow close at the heels of Nau. I do very much long to see him, or hear of his being despatched, that I may in person give you thanks for the interest which I believe you take in me.

I gather from this Queen's words, that she is somewhat jealous of Gray's coming to court without her knowledge, and without an effort made to see her. If this pique continue, it may perhaps be good for the Queen's Majesty to act as mediator, and while she makes both parties beholding to her, reap honour and advantage from both.

December 9th.—Yesterday I received your packet, containing three letters to this Queen from the French ambassador, and two from Nau. After reading the letters, she begged me to come to her in the evening. She entered into a discourse of the Master of Gray's doings. She said, that, though he was sent this journey to treat in her behalf, and to have an interview with her on his way to court, he now takes another course, and seems to deal for her son without her. She considers this as contrived by some ill-disposed persons about her son, who have made this young man their instrument. She says, that, whatever Gray may say to the contrary, her son is bound to her by his own writing, and is at her devotion. That his means, independently of her own and those of her friends, are very small. That he is so poor of himself, and the more so by the needy folks about him, that he has often been compelled to send to her for money to buy himself clothes and apparel for his pages and

lacqueys, which she has supplied from her dowry when she could ill afford it. That lately he got 6000 crowns from the Duke of Guise, of which she has reason to believe this young gentleman [Gray] had the greater part for himself. She protests that she can bring her son to a good point with her Majesty, and avows her sincere intentions with as much earnestness as it is possible to utter in words.

This Queen's foot is still at a stay, and is not likely to be well till it is comforted by warm weather, and by better means of fomentation by herbs than can be got here among the mountains, where gardens are scarcely known.

I learn from Tutbury that many of the Lord Paget's beds and hangings are wanting, and that they are in such hands as they will not be easily got out of; and that the ten or twelve beds brought in are very mean, some of them without bolsters, supposed to have been changed.

December 12th.—WALSINGHAM TO SADLER.

The last despatch from the Queen, your charge, has caused some stay of Nau's return, which, I fear, will lead to a delay of your removal. I find the Earl of Shrewsbury no way disposed to furnish any farther proportion of provisions, and so in haste I leave you.

December 14th.—SADLER TO WALSINGHAM.

The determination of the Earl of Shrewsbury to furnish no more provisions is ill news for us, for we are like to be driven to great straits here. I have already described to you the state of this wild country, where nothing is to be obtained but by long forecast, and plans laid from afar; add to this that

the roads are very sorely bad, as indeed they are. But if we cannot have needful provision, we must away; and therefore I have fully resolved to send on part of our stuff this week, and to leave the house bare, saving this Queen's own apartments, and to persuade her all I can to depart hence on Monday; upon which day I have prayed the gentlemen hereabouts to be here with me, to attend her to Derby, seven miles, for farther she cannot be carried that day, the roads being so exceedingly bad; and upon Tuesday to Tutbury, seven miles, the road as foul as the other.* But supposing that she, either relying upon her Majesty's promise not to be removed till Nau's return, or in consequence of her state of body, especially from the ailing in her leg and foot, will not, or cannot be removed; then I see we are like to be in a fine strait. Add to this the lack of drink and of firing; we are like to die of cold, for the weather and ways are such, that no fuel can be brought hither, and hard it is for the poor people and their teams, worried out as they are. As for old wood, of which there is store standing, and no other, it is but sorry stuff to be used in the kitchen, not to speak of the chambers. I see no help but for her Majesty to send away Nau immediately, and to arrange with my Lord of Shrewsbury for a continuance of provisions. On her word, I doubt not but my Lord will yield it. I beseech you, Sir, to help in this matter. I will trouble you with one other unpleasant thing, but not

* In this age of locomotives and locomotion, all the ado here made by letter, proclamation, &c., for removing to a distance of some fourteen miles, would be diverting enough could we for a moment lose sight of the illustrious sufferer, who figures in the scene.

the least important to me. As this country yields very little corn, I find no other litter for my horses than fern, which being used as fast as it is cut, is brought in green and wet. This has played the mischief with my horses and geldings, none of them being free from the cough.

December 25th.—I enclose letters from this Queen to her Secretary Nau. Her frowardness to remo e from this place is not to be overcome; and to a pretty shift are we put how to get provisions. Our store is spent, and his [the Earl of Shrewsbury's] officers will furnish no more, either for love or money. They have orders from the Earl to remove to Sheffield, and they are now departing, leaving the whole charge of getting provisions upon my back. The cause why the Queen refuses to remove, she alledges to be the lameness of her leg, and the soreness of her foot; but, in fact, the cause is that she will not till Nau's return, nor I believe then either; but she is likely to pay for it in her diet; and yet I will do the best I can. But at the very best, a cold Christmas of it are we like to spend! Mr. Cave says, that nearly all the money also is spent; and no money no provisions, that is clear. For my own part, I assure you I have scarce enough left to bear my expenses homeward. Things cannot be worse.

December 29th.—Though your letter, mentioning the departure of Nau on the day following, does not require an especial answer, yet, to keep the posts in breath, they being paid working or playing, I write to let you know how much I long to see him here. I am right heartily sorry to hear that there is now a doubt of my Lord St. John's coming. As he long ago accepted this charge, I had made full

account to deliver over this Lady to him and take my leave. Had her Majesty allowed of his excuse in the beginning, another might by this time have been found; but now, I leave it to her Majesty to consider how many weeks and months will pass: and yet I still rely on her gracious promise, from shortly enjoying the effect of which I hope nothing will prevent me.

As to her Majesty's pleasure, that I should have a special care of any conversation and dealing between this Queen's servants and mine, I will see to it, God willing, as far as I can; and have such an opinion and confidence in my people, that I trust little warning will serve.

December 30th.—SOMERS TO WALSINGHAM.

Mr. Chancellor [Hatton] looked to better comfort from my Lord St. John's readiness to relieve us, than he derived from your last. He has answered you respecting his care in looking to his folks, over whom I know he keeps the trustiest eye. As for my own part, I will as my duty is, be as heedful as lies in me. When so many are together it is difficult to prevent communication, especially as the Queen's people may walk in the court at all times, and have free resort for such things as are necessary. And yet they are very carefully watched, especially at the gates, not being suffered to go out, except they are accompanied by two soldiers; and whatever is brought to the Queen, or any of her people, is opened and visited. On these dark and long nights, three soldiers are always standing watch under the windows of the Queen's apartments; three go their rounds, and four are within the court and garden. Two yeomen watch nightly in the

great chamber, and in the upper rooms where the grooms lie, where there is a door and bolts.

Having reached the close of a year so eventful to the Queen of Scots, we must pause to give some account of the celebrated Association,—"Leicester's plan" as it was familiarly called; an act which had so decided an influence upon the future destinies of Mary Stuart.*

It has been remarked, that "when a man's mind is made up, any motive will serve." The starting-point of the Association well illustrates this truth. "Suspicions were laid hold of, "says Udall," as if the plot for her [Mary's] liberty, had its beginning in certain emblems, sent to her by some of her friends. Among these were, Argus with many eyes lulled asleep by Mercury playing on his pipe, with this motto, *Eloquium tot lumina clausit* [these hundred eyes by eloquence were closed]. Another was Mercury striking off the head of Argus, while guarding Io; a third was a scion engrafted on a stock and bound with bands, yet flourishing, having written above it *Per vincula cresco* [through fetters I thrive]; another was a Palm tree much laden, but rising beneath its load, with these words; *Ponderibus virtus innata resistit* [innate virtue resists what weighs it down]. Also an anagram, *Veritas armata*, out of her name MARIA STUARTA, which, when the letters was transposed, were taken in the worst part. Moreover, letters were shown, as if

* Leicester's Bond of Association for the protection of Elizabeth against popish conspirators, and the act of parliament in which it was authorized and embodied, were engines framed for as direct an agency in the execution of the Queen of Scots, as the executioner, the axe, and the block.

Mackintosh.

they had been intercepted, in which the friends of the Queen were made to complain that all their hopes were quite cut off, now she was placed under the custody of the puritans. Under this colour, she was taken from Shrewsbury and Sadler, and committed to the custody of Paulet and Drury, and that on purpose, as some think, that being driven into desperation, she might be more apt to take abrupt counsels, and be more easily entrapped. And Leicester, who was thought to study how to deceive the right owner of the succession, secretly sent ruffians, as many said, to murder her; but Drury, an honest-minded and upright man, detesting such wickedness from his heart, would not suffer them to have any access to her."

October 27th.—Our first intimation of this project is in the following letter, from

BURGHLEY TO LORD COBHAM.

I suppose your Lordship has lately heard how, upon a consultation in Council, it was agreed that there should be a bond of union, or Association,* made by such noblemen, gentlemen, officers, and others, as should like voluntarily to bind themselves to her Majesty, and to each other, for the defence and safety of her Majesty's person against all her evil-wishers. All the Council have already subscribed and sealed the bond, of which I send your Lordship a true copy. The same has been subscribed by all the judges, serjeants, and principal

* By an intercepted letter from Morgan to the Queen of Scots, it appears that Lord Cobham was inclined to favour her cause, and we may presume, from some passages in the crafty epistle before us, that he was not entirely unsuspected at court.

officers at Westminster, as well as by the gentlemen and justices of the peace in various counties. And as I am sure that many, or the greater part of the justices of peace in Kent will not be behind others, I have thought good to impart thus much to yourself, that your Lordship may make it known to such of your acquaintance in Kent as you may think convenient, leaving it as a voluntary thing whether they will subscribe it or not; and if your Lordship shall find them willing I wish you to have the honour to obtain the same, as a matter offered to yourself for her Majesty's service. As for your own person's belonging to this Association, I think it more convenient for you to join it at your approaching visit to London, with other noblemen who are Lord's of parliament. But notwithstanding all I write to your Lordship, I beg you to take it as a matter that I leave to your own consideration. There is at hand an ambassador from the King of Scots, the master of Gray, the chief gentleman of the King's chamber, a man of great credit, who is to be with her Majesty on Sunday next."

October 31*st*.—Further particulars are communicated in a letter from

WALSINGHAM TO SADLER.

I had forgotten in my other letters to inform you, that the lords and others of her Majesty's privy council being given to understand, in sundry ways, that some wicked and ungodly plots are devising and laid, for attempting and putting in execution some devilish practise to the peril of her Majesty's person (whom may the Lord preserve!) upon an opinion conceived that no vengeance will be taken thereon; the Lords and others have, therefore, for

the prevention of such ungodly purposes, considered how convenient it were to be known, how ready all good subjects are and ought to be to labour to counteract the same. And, therefore, upon a common consent among themselves, they have devised a certain instrument of Association, for the preservation of her Majesty's person, whereto they have set their hands and seals, and taken an oath upon the holy Gospel, for the due observation of the contents of the same. This having come to the knowledge of diverse good and well affected subjects, such as the judges of the realm, and other gentlemen of diverse counties, they became humble suitors to be permitted to subscribe the same, which dutiful motion of theirs has been allowed of. For your better information, I enclose you a copy.

Her Majesty would wish this act of Association to be shown to the Queen, your charge, upon some apt occasion, and that you would take very particular notice both of her countenance and speech, on and after the perusal of the same.

November 2.—SADLER TO WALSINGHAM.

According to the directions you gave me, Mr. Somers made this Queen acquainted with the Association. She listened to it with great attention, and observed that it might be construed to mean her by many of the words, such as "some pretended titles to the crown," "by what colour or title they shall pretend to be her Majesty's enemies," &c.; some ill-disposed persons, she said, might quarrel with her on such words, and seek to do her displeasure as being her Majesty's enemy. It was answered, that she finding herself clear, and not meaning any such attempt, nor making show of any such pre-

tence, need not mistrust her Majesty's care of her, whereof she had good proof. As to the words in question, they were general, and intended to restrain others, that would perhaps be as busy as she that way, if they were not restrained. Therefore, that, upon some evil intentions and practises which had been discovered, this was voluntarily sought and desired by the nobility in these dangerous times, to counteract the same generally. When it came to these words, "all manner of persons, &c., and their abetters that shall attempt, by any art, counsel, or consent, to do any thing tending to the harm of her Majesty's royal person," she sware that she liked it so well, that, with all her heart, being assured of her Majesty's favour, she would subscribe it, and would stand as fast by her Majesty, and serve her as faithfully as any subject her Highness had in England, by helping to suppress books, and counteract any thing that might be practised abroad against her, if any such there were. This she spake with great earnestness, and said she would especially instruct Mr. Secretary to speak thereof to her Majesty.

The following is a copy of the Instrument in question:—Forasmuch as Almighty God has ordained kings, queens, and princes, to have dominion over their subjects, and to preserve them in the profession and observance of the true Christian religion; and, in the same manner, that all subjects should love, fear, and obey their sovereign princes, and to the uttermost of their power at all times withstand, pursue, and suppress all manner of persons, who, by any means intend or attempt any thing dangerous or hurtful to the honours, estates, or persons of their sovereigns: Therefore we, whose

names are, or shall be, subscribed to this writing, being natural born subjects of this realm of England, and having so gracious a lady and sovereign, Elizabeth, by the ordinance of God our most rightful Queen, reigning over us these many years with great felicity to our inestimable comfort; and finding of late by diverse depositions, confessions, and advertisements from foreign parts, from credible persons well known to her Majesty's council, and to diverse others, that, for the furtherance of some pretended titles to the crown of this realm, it has been manifest that the life of our gracious Sovereign Lady, Queen Elizabeth, has been most traitorously and devilishly sought, and followed most dangerously to the peril of her person, if Almighty God, her perpetual defender, of his mercy had not revealed and withstood the same, by whose life we and all other her Majesty's loyal and true subjects, enjoy the inestimable benefit of peace in this land; do for the reasons before alledged, not only acknowledge ourselves most justly bound with our bodies, lives, lands, and goods in her defence and for her safety, to withstand, pursue and suppress all such mischievous persons, and all other her enemies of what nation, condition, or degree soever they be, or by what colour or title they pretend to be her enemies, or attempt any harm to her person; and we do also think it our most bounden duty, for the great benefit of peace, wealth, and godly government, which we have more plentifully received these many years under her Majesty's government, than our forefathers have done, to declare, and by this writing make manifest our loyal and bounden duty to our said Sovereign Lady, for her safety. And to this end, that we and every of us, first calling to witness the

holy name of Almighty God, do voluntarily bind ourselves, every one of us to the other, jointly and severally in the bond of a firm and loyal society. And we do hereby vow and promise before the Majesty of Almighty God, that with our whole powers, bodies, lives, lands, and goods, and with our children and servants, we, and every of us, will faithfully serve and humbly obey our said Sovereign Lady, Queen Elizabeth, against all estates, dignities, and earthly powers whatever, and will, as well with our joint as particular efforts, during our lives, withstand, and pursue, as well by force of arms, as by all other means of revenge, all manner of persons, of what estate soever they be, and their abettors, that shall attempt by any art, avowal, or consent, any thing that shall tend to the harm of her Majesty's royal person. And we will never desist from all manner of forcible pursuit against such persons, to the uttermost extermination of them, their comforters, aids and abettors. And if any such wicked attempt against her most royal person shall be taken in hand, whereby any that have, may have, or shall pretend title to this crown, by the untimely death of her Majesty so wickedly procured (which God of his mercy's sake forbid!) may be advanced; we do not only vow and bind ourselves, both jointly and severally, never to allow, accept, or favour, any such pretended successor, by whom, or for whom, any such detestable act shall be attempted or committed, or any that may any way claim by or from such person or pretended successor, as aforesaid, by whom, or for whom, such an act shall be attempted or committed, as unworthy of all government in any Christian realm or civil society. We do also further vow and protest, as we are most

bounden, and in the presence of the Eternal and ever living God, to prosecute such person or persons to the death, with our joint or particular forces; and to take the uttermost revenge on them that by any possible means we, or any of us, can devise, and do, or cause to be devised or done, for their utter overthrow and extirpation. And to the better corroboration of this our loyal Bond and Association, we do also testify by this writing, that we do confirm the contents thereof by our oaths corporally taken upon the holy Evangelists, with this express condition, that no one of us shall, for any respect of persons or causes, or for fear or reward, separate ourselves from this Association, or fail in the prosecution thereof during our lives, upon pain of being by the rest of us prosecuted and suppressed as perjured persons and as public enemies to God,* our Queen, and our native country; to which punishment and pain we do voluntarily submit ourselves, and every of us, without benefit of any exception to be hereafter challenged by any of us, under any colour or pretext. In witness of all which premises, to be inviolably kept, we do by this writing put to our hands and oaths, and shall be most ready to accept and admit any others hereafter to this our Society and Association.

No sooner had this document been communicated to the Queen of Scots, than with admirable address, and with a tact for which her enemies were little prepared to give her credit, she expressed her determination to be one among the first to sign it; and by the following document preserved in the Burghley

* Quoties vis fallere plebem, finge Deum.

Say, would you gull the crowd? Pretend God's cause.

Papers, it will be seen that she carried out her idea. The paper is headed "The Queen of Scots' Bond in Association to be an enemy to all that shall attempt any thing against her Majesty's life."

The Queen of Scotland, Dowager of France, having learned, that, in order to obviate all attempts against the life of the Queen of England, her good sister, a grand Association has been formed among the principal noblemen of this kingdom, and being desirous in this, as in all other things, to give every proof to the said Queen of England, her good sister, of her entire affection and sincerity, and regarding herself, as her nearest relative, bound to see to her preservation, does of her own free will declare and promise, the same as the said Association declares and promises, on the word of a Queen, and by her faith and honour, that henceforward and for ever she will regard as her mortal enemies all those without exception, who by advice, instigation, consent, or any other way, shall attempt, undertake, or, which God forbid! execute any thing against the life of the said Queen, her good sister. She will by all the means in her power pursue them to the uttermost, till just, full, and equitable punishment shall have overtaken them. In testimony whereof, and in confirmation of the said Association, and for the information of all whom it may concern, the said Queen of Scots has signed these presents with her own hand,

MARIE R.

At Wingfield, this fifth day of January, one thousand five hundred and eighty-five.

It would appear that Mary's offer to join the Association was not only regarded as insincere, but

considered in the light of little else than a piece of mockery. Of the 6th of February, there is a letter from her to Burghley, complaining of this.

"It is not a little hard for me to see, that the things about which I wrote to you have not even been honoured with an answer; not the least among them is the Association for the safety of the Queen's person. I have not even been informed whether my letter on this subject has been received and accepted. The people here do not know what to answer me, except that they will themselves write upon the subject. It would appear as though they wished to treat me like a patient in a fever, who, when he asks for drink, is not answered, but the time is suffered to run away, so that he may forget what he has asked for, his thirst being gone past. If the Queen, my good sister, does not deem me worthy of an answer from her own hand, let some one be sent to me in her name, so that I may be satisfied on this head. I feel confident that this apparent neglect does not arise from any absence of good nature on her part, but from the want of some one to put her in mind. If I do not yet receive some comfort from her, I am very greatly out of my reckoning."

CHAPTER VIII.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS IN TUTBURY CASTLE.

ÆTAT. 42.—1585, TO 1586.

Historical outline—Sir Ralph Sadler's Journal continued—Negociations of Mary with Elizabeth for her liberty.

WHEN the revolting character of the office of jailor is considered, for the post occupied by the keepers of the Queen of Scots was virtually no better, however it might be dignified with the more sounding appellation of "warden;" it will not be wondered that each of the persons selected by Elizabeth for this purpose, should feel uneasy under the burden, and express an anxiety to be freed from the painful duties which it imposed. Each of the individuals who filled this office has been seen to manifest the utmost impatience to be freed from the odious charge; while one nobleman preferred imprisonment in the tower, and confiscation of his property, to the degradation of stooping to such an indignity. Sir Ralph Sadler had been an active servant of Henry VIII., was advanced in life, and altogether unable to endure the restraints which the jealousy of Elizabeth imposed on those to whom Mary's custody was entrusted. His answer upon

receiving an angry expostulation on having carried out the Scottish Queen a hawking, will show the reader how sick at heart he had grown of an office so hateful in itself, and so difficult to discharge to the satisfaction of his sour and suspicious mistress. And one is tempted to ask, what must have been the feelings of the prisoner, when even her jailors felt their duty so intolerably irksome.

On the 2d of March, 1585, the Bond of Association was converted into an act of parliament, which was summoned for the purpose. The act provided, "that any person by, or *for*, whom, rebellion should be excited, or the Queen of England's life attacked, might be tried by commission under the great seal, and adjudged to capital punishment; and if the Queen's life should be taken away, then any person by or *for whom* such act was committed, should be capitally punished, and the issue of such person cut off from the succession to the crown." It is unnecessary to point the reader's attention to the monstrous injustice of making the Queen of Scots, a prisoner in the hands of Elizabeth, responsible for acts done for her, and in her name. The contingent exclusion of Mary's son from the succession was ascribed to the great mover of mischief, Leicester, who had views upon the crown, either for himself, or for his brother-in-law Lord Huntingdon.

In the meantime, the intrigues of Elizabeth and her council in Scotland were no less active against their unhappy prisoner. The fall of Morton had defeated their hopes for a time, but at last, the English minister, Randolph, succeeded in negociating a treaty of "stricter amity" with James, in spite of the just remonstrances of the French ambassador, Courcelles, and of every feeling of de-

cency or duty to James's unhappy mother, whom, at the instigation of Elizabeth, he excluded from its provisions. To use the words of Sir James Mackintosh, "one of the historical accusations against the Queen of Scots is, that she conspired with foreign powers to disinherit her son. A son so unfilial had no claim upon a mother whom he abandoned to her enemies, in violation of the sacredness of nature and of her distress. One article of the treaty, and, perhaps, the most essential one, was the payment of a pension by Elizabeth to James, who appears to have been as mean in his youth as in his more advanced age."

1585. *January 5th.*—THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY TO SADLER.

I am ashamed that this long time past I have not written to you; and truly I was more grieved that I could not write what I desired, and what would have been comfortable to you. Her Majesty, as you know, intended long before Christmas that my Lord St. John should take that charge, and I was persuaded he would have been there before Christmas. In Mr. Secretary's absence, I told her Majesty it was fit that my Lord St. John should be hastened away. She approved of it, and wished me to send for him. I did so, and urged him to fix a time for his journey; but he, almost like a stranger to the matter, answered me at once that he could not, nor would he go to his own undoing. This, he said, he had told Mr. Secretary a long time since. I found this answer very strange, and advised him to take heed thereto, for that I knew her Majesty made full account of his going, and that he

might fall into no small displeasure, should her Majesty hear of his answer. Well, many arguments passed between him and me. I was unwilling to repeat his answers, and so passed three or four days, during which time I sent for my Lord of Bedford to persuade him [Lord St. John] better. I did the like with my Lord of Leicester, but after all they could not prevail. I told him I must report it to her Majesty, and notwithstanding all my advice he forced me to do so, though I did it not flatly, as he gave me cause. Her Majesty fell into great displeasure against him, affirming that, at her first speaking to him, his only excuse was his insufficiency for such a charge; but yet he consented, requiring a respite of three or four weeks. I then required of her Majesty, that my Lord of Leicester and myself might roundly command him in her name. To this she consented. We accordingly did it in very round terms; but it availed nothing. He said he would abide any extremity rather than go. He alleged also that it was a discredit to be coupled with any other warden. In the end, after many debates, my Lord of Leicester and my Lord Chamberlain were charged to tell him, that her Majesty would make an example of him, by punishing him for his wilfulness. This tale we told him this afternoon, and then he consented to obey her Majesty, compelled by her command, not led by any good will of his own. We reported this to her Majesty; she was so highly offended, that she swore now he should not go. We advised her Majesty to the contrary, and hearing in the end by my report that you were sick, she seemed greatly to pity you, and said, that you should not fail to be relieved as

soon as you could remove her to Tutbury, but she will have both the number of persons and the charges diminished.

January 6th.—SADLER TO WALSINGHAM.

On the 29th of last month Nau returned here. By the Queen's words and looks she seems very well satisfied; she promised to deserve all the favour that it might please her Majesty to bestow upon her, when it shall please God to grant her means to show it here, and in other places, where, with her Highness' good liking, she may end the rest of her days. She consents to remove on Wednesday next, and on the Thursday following, I make account, God willing, to be at Tutbury, out of this unpleasant place, where, at this time of the year, myself and almost all the company have taken cold and rheumatism, provide against it as we may. My desire to be relieved from this charge increases daily, and upon just cause. I therefore humbly beseech her Majesty to have consideration of me, for the state of my health now makes me very earnest in the matter. The state of this Queen's body is considerably improved, though she is still lame, and not able to walk alone. I trust you will despatch Mr. Cave immediately, for the money left by him here is spent; and without money our case will go hard, we lying here altogether upon the penny.

A document has reached us, headed, "The Scottish Queen's offers in respect to her liberty, proposed by Secretary Nau." The following extracts will throw a light on the negociation:—The Queen, my mistress, being now well assured of your Majesty's amity, will swear and solemnly protest a sincere forgetfulness of all wrongs done to her in

this realm, and never, in any sort, show offence for the same.—She will avow and acknowledge, as well in her own particular name, as also for her heirs, your Majesty as the just, true, and lawful Queen of England; and, consequently, will renounce, as well for herself, as for her said heirs, all rights and pretences to the crown of England, during your Majesty's life.—She will revoke all acts and shows by her heretofore made, of pretence to the said crown, to the prejudice of your Majesty, such as the taking the arms and titles of Queen of England, by the command of King Francis, her late lord and husband.—She will renounce the Pope's Bull touching the deprivation of your Majesty, and will declare that she will never help or serve herself with it.—She will not practise, directly or indirectly, with any of your Majesty's subjects, either within or out of this realm, any thing tending to war, civil or foreign, against your Majesty and your estate, be it under pretext of religion, or of civil government.—She will enter into the Association, which was shown her at Wingfield, for the surety of your Majesty's life, so that there be answered, or rightly explained, certain clauses which I will show to your Majesty, when I have a copy thereof, as I have already required.—For assurance of her promises, she offers to abide in this realm for a certain time, (better hostage she cannot give than her own person,) or that she be kept in liberty as propounded; nor is she in a condition, in the sickly state she is, to escape secretly out of this realm.—And in case your Majesty agree to her full and entire deliverance, to return at will out of this realm, the said Queen of Scots will give sufficient hostage, on such terms as shall be decided upon. If she abide in this realm, she

will promise not to depart out of it without your license, if it be promised that her state be not in any way altered, and that due liberty be accorded her.—If she go into Scotland, she will promise to alter nothing there in the religion now used there, she being suffered to have the exercise of hers in her household, as it was at her return out of France; and farther, to root out every new division between her subjects, that none in Scotland shall be sifted for his conscience, nor constrained to go to the service of the contrary religion.—She will grant a general amnesty for all offences done against her in Scotland, and things shall remain there as at this present, saving that which has been done against her honour, which she means to have revoked and cancelled. As she will pass nothing without the King, her son, so does she desire him conjointly to intervene with her in the treaty, otherwise nothing sound and to continue can be established.—In the meantime, the more to strengthen the said treaty, as made by her in a pure and frank will, she desires that demonstration be made of some releasement of her captivity.

Objections against the Scottish Queen, under Secretary Walsingham's hand.

The Queen is ambitious and stands ill-affected to her Majesty, and therefore her liberty cannot but bring peril to her Majesty. That her enlargement will give comfort to Papists, and other ill-affected subjects, and greatly advance the opinion had of her title of succession. That so long as she be continued in her Majesty's possession, she may serve, as it were, for a pledge for her Majesty's security; as her friends, for fear of the danger she may be thrown

into, in case any thing should be done in her favour, will not dare attempt any thing against her Majesty.

What course is to be taken with the Queen of Scots.

This is threefold :—First, To continue her under custody, as she now is ; Secondly, To restrain her of the present liberty she has ; Thirdly, To set her at liberty upon caution.

Touching the first,—It is to be considered that the Princes who favour that Queen, upon the complaint she makes of hard usage, are greatly moved with commisseration towards her, and promise to do their endeavours for her liberty, for which purpose her ministers solicit them daily. And to move them the more to pity her case, she will acquaint them with the offers now made to her Majesty, which appear to be no less profitable than reasonable, so that the rejection of the same will give her friends and favourers cause to think her hardly dealt with, and therefore, with the latter ground they may be led to attempt somewhat for her liberty. It is also likely, that the said Queen, upon this refusal, finding her case desperate, will continue her underhand practises, both at home and abroad, not only for her delivery, but also to obtain the possession of this crown upon her pretended title. In this way, a gap is left open for the malice of all her Majesty's enemies; and this manner of keeping her, with such a number of persons as she now has, and with liberty to write and receive letters, is more chargeable than profitable to her Majesty, and subject to all such practises as may peril her Majesty's person and estate. As to restraining her liberty more strictly,—It may, at first sight, appear

a proper remedy to stop the course of dangerous practices; and true it is, that this remedy might prove very profitable, if the realm of Scotland stood devoted to her Majesty as heretofore; and if the King of that realm were not likely, as well for the release of his mother, as for the advancement of both their pretended titles, to attempt something against the realm and her Majesty, in which he would want neither foreign assistance, nor a party within this realm. *Lastly*,—It is to be doubted, that it may provoke some desperate ill-disposed person, all hope of her liberty being removed, to something against her Majesty's own person (a matter above all other to be weighed); which inconvenience being duly considered, it will manifestly appear, that any straiter degree of restraint, is likely to prove a remedy subject to very hard events.* It may also be objected that the setting her at liberty will greatly encourage the Papists, both at home and abroad; but if provision be duly made by Parliament, they will rather find cause of discomfort than otherwise. It also rests to know, in what manner the said liberty is to be effected. If it be thought meet she be continued within the realm with some limitation, especially in the place where she now resides, the country round being so infected in religion, it is greatly to be doubted, that this will increase the corruption. In a word, she would have more opportunity, with more ease and speed, to entertain practises in this realm, than being in her own country.

* The reader will not fail to have observed in the above remarkable paragraph, a sketch, as it were by anticipation, of the plan shortly after realized by the intrigues and artifices of Walsingham.

January 13*th*.—WALSINGHAM TO SOMERS.

In respect to Sir Amias Paulet's undertaking this charge, the weak state of his health, and the distance of his residence, are, I think, to be allowed as a sufficient excuse. And in case my Lord St. John would be content to have some one joined with him (which Mr. Chancellor hears he takes for a discredit,*) if it would please her Majesty to make choice of two gentlemen, of these parts, sound in religion, faithful to her Majesty, and with good means of maintenance and other help, at hand; who if they would not alledge absence from their wives as an excuse, nor seek to have them with them, it would be most desirable. I could name Mr. John Manners, Sir John Zouch, Sir John Byron, or Sir Thomas Cockayne; one of these to attend with his Lordship, and, in his absence, for both to be in charge; so that her Majesty might be well served, and they in turns cased, and the burthen not found over grievous.

January 13*th*.—SADLER TO WALSINGHAM.

I perceive that my Lord St. John has with much difficulty been brought to accept of this charge. God grant that there may be no change, and that I may shortly hear of his despatch from Court; this I desire the more, as I am coughing with a cold, louder than suits my ease.

This day we depart for Tutbury, and shall pass

* He might well do so, for these wardens in pairs were perfectly well understood to be spies on each other's conduct. The resistance of the Lord St. John is, therefore, an honorable proof of an independence of spirit, rare indeed in those days of slavish sycophancy.

the night at Derby. There is no other fit way than by this town, by reason of the hills and woods. It is an evil which I am sorry for; but I have given strict orders to the bailiffs and others of Derby, to provide that there be no assemblage of gazing people in the street, and that all should be done with as much quietness as possible. She has a small train of such of her people as were necessary for her, all carriages and other impediments having gone before.

January 13th.—SADLER TO BURGHLEY.

Your friendly dealing to relieve me of this charge is a favour I shall never be able to requite. You write me that it is her Majesty's command that the expense of the diet and other charges incident to the wardenship of the Scottish Queen shall be curtailed as much as may be; I assure your Lordship, that, though I have no great skill in good husbandry, yet, as much as in me lies, I will see that there shall be no superfluous expense.

This day we remove the Queen to Derby, and tomorrow to Tutbury; the roads being so foul and deep, and she so lame, though in good health of body, that we cannot go through in a day. I myself am more unable than she to travel, not having been well this month or more, nor, I fear, shall I ever recover, so long as I remain in this charge, of which I long to be delivered, whenever it shall please God and her Majesty.

P. S. After I had done my letter, yours of the 10th arrived. I think Sir John Zouch as fit a person as could be chosen. As for Henry Skipwith, though I know him to be an honest gentleman, yet I know he will not be acceptable to this Queen, be-

cause he had the guard of the late Duke of Norfolk in the Tower, and therefore she will have a great dislike to him.

January 13*th*.—THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

MADAME MY GOOD SISTER,—In order to please you, as I wish in all things to do, I am on the point of starting on my journey to Tutbury; feeling assured that there, as well in regard to my treatment as every thing else, you will be pleased, according to the entire trust I repose in you, to have regard to my well-being and my safety, which I shall more and more endeavour to merit; and if heretofore, as I have learned from the French ambassador, any report to the contrary has been made by my Lord Paget, I entreat you to clear it up: for you will find that I have nothing wherein to meddle with him, nor he with me. Waiting an answer to the letters to my son, which I trust have been forwarded, and of which I beg to be informed, I will remind you of what I before suggested,—the sending of two persons to him, on the part of both of us, as being the only sure means of coming to a clear and solid understanding on that head. As soon as I have sufficiently recovered my strength at Tutbury, I will not fail to write to you on your reply to my articles, and hope you will be satisfied with the same. Being on the point of entering my carriage, I kiss your hands, and pray God, that He will grant to you a long and happy life, and to me your good favour.

Your humble and most affectionate
Sister and Cousin,
MARIE R.

January 19th.—SADLER TO BURGHLEY.

On Thursday we reached here with this Queen, who is very well, we having had two fair days. My Lord Paget's household stuff is for the most part very mean, and I had much ado, I assure you, to satisfy my company. But with some shifts, and with promises speedily to supply the necessary wants, the better sort were quieted. I have sent to Coventry for some feathers to help out many shotten beds, and for some stuff for window curtains, for not one pair did we find here; also for some linen for sheets, as a change is needful. I am happy to say that my charge is now in a very good state of health, and begins to get about her chamber with some help, her foot being still swollen and weak. She likes her apartments very well, but would have been better pleased if there had been more suitable hangings. Other wants she also has, of which Nau has made out a memorandum. Two things she is very desirous to know; first, whether the letter to her son, which she sent to be read over by her Majesty, has been safely conveyed to him; secondly, whether her Majesty likes and accepts of her consent to join in the English Association. She is much pleased to hear that her letter to her Majesty was approved of, and has written another which I inclose you.

The same day the Queen came hither, my Lord Stafford passed speedily through the town, with three or four in his company, himself plainly dressed, and stayed at an alehouse in the village of Hilton, two miles off, till this Queen was passed, where some of my folks spied him in a window. As soon as we were all a good way passed, he rode to Barton that night, as one of the village brought me word,

but I know not where he went after. The house in which he generally resides, is about fourteen miles off.

January 23d.—SADLER TO BURGHLEY.

Of our remove from Wingfield, and our arrival here, you will have heard by my letter of the 19th. Though the number of gentlemen attendant was intended by her Majesty to make a show of intimidating, yet this Queen at her departure, and more amply at her lodging in Derby, thanked the Queen's Majesty for the honor she had been pleased to show her, by appointing such grave and ancient wise gentlemen, and of such calling and reputation, to accompany her in this journey, and gave great thanks to all; and I think surely she meant as she spoke. Neither by word nor show in quitting Wingfield, nor when she first heard of this convoy, nor by the way, did she show any appearance of dissatisfaction, but rather of content.

The departure of my old acquaintance, the Earl of Lincoln, as your Lordship writes, puts elder folks in remembrance to prepare themselves for passing on that long journey; and this makes me the more desire to be in another place, where I yet may have some comfort among them, with whom God has blessed me, as the staff of my old days.

February 5th.—SADLER TO BURGHLEY.

I perceive that my Lord St. John is excused from his charge, for such important reasons as your Lordship alledges, and that Amias Paulet, now one of her Majesty's worthy privy council, has willingly consented to take it upon him, of which I am right glad; and still more glad to hear your Lordship say that you trust I shall not tarry here many days.

But as touching the Queen Majesty's dislike at my lodging this Queen in Derby town, on my way hither, I assure her Majesty and your Lordship, that it was sorely against my will, could it have been helped. I had sent Mr. Somers to see if there were any other way passable by coach or carriage, and he reported that there was no other possible way, by reason of hills, rocks, and woods. I myself made a trial of three miles, and after causing some bridges to be made, found it impossible. I beseech her Majesty to think, that, if there had been any other means of passing, I would not have come by Derby, and I wrote long before, that we must needs take that way. And touching the information of a great personage, delivered to him by some officious officer, that the Queen offered to salute and kiss a multitude of the towns-women, and of speeches that she is said to have used to them, I do assure her Majesty, and Mr. Somers will be sworn to the same, if need be, that I went next before her, and he next behind her, yea, of purpose, before all the gentlemen, saving one who held up her gown. The entertainment was this. In the little hall was a good wife, an ancient widow, named Mrs. Beaumont, with four other women her neighbours. So soon as she knew who was her hostess, after beckoning to the rest of the women who stood next to the door, she went to her and kissed her, and no other; saying that she was come hither to trouble her; but, as she also was a widow, she trusted they would agree well enough, having no husbands to trouble them. The Queen then went into the parlour upon the same ground floor, and no stranger with her but the said good wife and a sister of hers. And there Mr. Somers staid, till the Queen

put off her upper garment, and put on some other article of dress. And further, so soon as she was within her lodging, the gentleman porter took his stand at the door, suffering none to go into the house but her own people, from their lodgings next adjoining. After that, I ordered the bailiffs to cause a good wateh of honest householders to be at all the eorners of the town, and in the market plaee. There were also seven persons appointed to walk all night in the street where she lodged, as I myself, lying over against that lodging, ean well testify from the noise they kept up all night. This I boldly affirm to be truth, and which I am ready to eonfirm upon any oeeasion, should there be question of the same.

February 7th.—SADLER TO BURGHLEY.

On the reeeipt of your letters, I let the Queen of Seots know that her letter to her son had been sent, and was thought to have reaehed him before the date of your letters. She did not appear to digest this easily, mistrusting that it had been stayed (she knows not by whose means) till the Master of Gray had terminated his negoeiations with the Queen, and that the favourites about her son had done their pleasure to spoil every thing she could send, before it could come to him. I did what I could to pacify her, which, under sueh impressions and eoneeits of things, it is no easy matter to do at first. But in the end, she satisfied herself with the assuranee that the Queen's Majesty, her good sister, knew nothing of this stay.

As to the other point of your letter, the poor furniture of this eastle, and the want of things suitable for this Queen, of which, it seems, she has eom-

plained to her Majesty, who has conceived an offence against those who were appointed to see to it; it must be owned that coverings and hangings are desirable in this cold house, and some of her people had to have some little patience for the same. But now this is, in part, remedied, so that the higher sort have no great reason to complain.

Upon my Lord Treasurer's motion to have an estimate of the household charges, for a week, I caused Mr. Cave to make out a book of the same. After it was done, this Queen herself perused it, and like a frugal, good housewife, abated some things of her officers' demands. She desires to know the Queen Majesty's good will and pleasure relative to a request made by her for two gentlemen more, to relieve the other four in their watching with her in the time of her sickness and sufferings; she requests that she may, with her Majesty's good favour, send into France or Scotland for them, if she can have none in England. She also desires six more horses.

She is also earnest to know to whose custody she is to be delivered after me, and who is to assist, if any such are to be appointed. I have now here thirty soldiers, most of them sons of her Majesty's farmers. I have also written to the justices of peace of the neighbourhood, to be in readiness with their horses on all occasions, if needs be; and also for watch and ward to be kept in fit places, within ten miles of the castle.

February 15th.—SOMERS TO STRINGER.

From the speeches of this Queen, I can see that she is loath to part with Sharpe, because he is well practised with her horses and coach, and she declares

that he never did her any service but about the same: she perceived, perhaps, that he might be distrusted. Not hearing of any other coachman, we wish to know what is to be done. Sharpe says, that having served his Lordship twenty-eight years, he would not willingly fall from his master's favour, but that he would talk the matter over with Curle.

My Lord St. John being ready to set out for this place, fell suddenly into a fever, with an ulcer in his leg; this, together with the death of his only son, has got his release from this charge. We now hear that Sir Amias Paulet is appointed, and that he is to hasten hither as soon as he conveniently can, so that poor I am likely to continue here a while after our Chancellor. This lady has fallen into her old aches, and has kept her bed these five or six days.

February 18*th*.—Queen Elizabeth to Sadler.

Trusty and well beloved Chancellor, we greet you well. Being given to understand how basely our house of Tutbury was furnished at the time of the Queen your charge's repair thither, and what want there is there of things necessary for the use of one of meaner quality than the said Queen, we cannot but think our honour greatly touched thereby, and the neglect worthy of severe punishment; and though we have given orders for the present supply of those wants, yet are we ashamed that such as were put in trust in that matter, should be found so void of judgment, and so careless of our honour as to give so great an advantage to those that look enviously into our designs, to find fault upon such just cause. And therefore our meaning is, that the said parties who have so offended, shall receive punishments answerable to their deserts.—And

whereas you have been a long suitor to us, and not without just cause, to be discharged of the burden you now sustain, though unfit for your years, yet most fit for a man of your approved fidelity, we have not been unmindful of the same. And though it has been deferred for some especial causes, yet have we at length taken such full resolution therein, that you shall very speedily be at liberty to repair to us, which, as we know that you most earnestly desire, so shall we be most glad at the time of your access to us, to make our good acceptation appear to you, of your most painful and faithful service performed in this late charge. Given under our signet at Somerset house, in the 27th year of our reign.

ELIZABETH R.

We pray you not to forget to impart our thanks to our servant Somers.

February 23d.—SADLER TO WALSINGHAM.

I received yours containing a letter from her Majesty to this Queen, and one from her Highness to me, as well as one from yourself. I forbore to deliver it to this Lady till the next day, because I heard she was in great pain from her old indisposition, as also much troubled in mind by the death of an old servant of hers, Mrs. Rallay, of nearly eighty years of age, who was buried that day. After she had read her Majesty's letters, she said the first part of them was very comfortable, full of gracious words, and expressive of her Majesty's own natural disposition towards her, in accordance with Nau's report. But on two other points she was greatly perplexed: the one, that her son should make such an answer to her Majesty with his own hand,

directly confirming Gray's assertion, that her son never assented to any Association. The other point that perplexed her was, "that her Highness would treat with her son for what should be best for this Queen and for him." To this she replies, that she desires very earnestly that she herself, by some of her own people, may deal with him; a thing, she says, most natural, as she must best know what is best for him. She lamented much that Nau had not been suffered to speak with Gray in the presence of the council, where Nau would have driven him to speak otherwise of that matter than he had done to her Majesty. With respect to the last point of her Highness' letters, the doubts and fears of this Queen of my successor in the charge, she is very inquisitive as to who the person is. For, as I have often said, she fears every change, being persuaded that she has many dangerous enemies in England, in the hands of whom, or of such as depend upon them, she thinks that she cannot be safe. She would have been glad to be put in possession of his name, which her Majesty does not express, but merely speaks of a person whose integrity is not to be doubted of. In my humble opinion, it would be good, in order to remove any jealousy, that her Majesty would be pleased to name him in some letter. It has been whispered that Sir Amias Paulet was the person named.

February 26th.—SADLER TO WALSINGHAM.

The Scottish Queen has been busied these four or five days in writing letters, as she soon wearies at a time. Her anxiety seems to increase in regard to the person of her next warden, and considering the good terms that have passed between her Majesty

and her, it might be well to content her on that head, rather than let the person so appointed come upon her on a sudden, and take her unawares. She still wishes an addition to her horses, in order that she may be the better accompanied by her gentlewomen and gentlemen, when she rides abroad to take the air, when the weather is calm, as she seldom will ride in her coach. In answer, I have alledged the present weak state of her body, the coldness of the season, and the foulness of the roads hereabouts, against the charge to buy new horses, as when occasion requires she may have the use of the governor's.

According to Nau, the French ambassador states in his last despatch, that the Queen's Majesty has consented that the said Nau shall make the journey to Scotland. But he tells me, that if such be her Majesty's pleasure, this Queen will send thither her Secretary Carle, a Scotchman, who is acquainted with her affairs since her coming into the realm. He is in no respect so quick-spirited nor so ready as Nau, but he has a shrewd grave wit. She makes great account of him as very secret and sure to her. This man will go lighter in post, with small show, and not with such parade as the other would do, and all, as he said, for his reputation sake; as take for example his costly voyage to the Queen Majesty.

February 29th.—In a letter from Burleigh, to Sir Thomas Edmonds, of this date, he says: "yesterday I saw a letter out of Scotland, declaring that the King was informed from this court, that he had no greater enemy here than myself, and the like is written to the Master of Gray of himself. If you knew how earnest a course I hold with her Majesty, both privately and openly, for her to retain the King

of Scots with friendship and liberality, yea, and to retain the Master of Gray and the Justice Clerk with some *rewards* to continue their offices, you would think there could be no more shameful lies made by Satan himself; and finding myself bitten with the tongues and pen of courtiers here, if God did not comfort me, I have cause to fear murdering hands or poisoning tricks. But God is my keeper."

March 1.—SADLER TO BURGHLEY.

I am happy to learn that Sir Amias Paulet intends to keep his day for his journey hither; it will be a welcome day for me, and I offer you my thanks for your remembrance of me in that regard . . . One Humphrey Briggs, late servant to Nicholas Langford, Esq., having left him in some displeasure, has written a letter accusing him of having received letters from this Queen, and that he [Langford] was to be made a Duke. Certain it is that Mr. Langford is an obstinate papist, and Sir Thomas Gerarde is as bad as he. They both lurk here in their houses, the farthest not past three miles from the Castle. Neither of them, nor their wives and families, come to the church, nor yet have our common prayer and service said in their houses, but nourish certain massing priests, who haunt their houses, where it is thought they have their masses secretly; but so closely and cunningly, that it will be hard to take them in the fact. These surely are dangerous persons, had they power according to their will, and therefore should be looked to. I would to God there were no more in this country, where I hear of very few good. It seems that the bishop of this diocese is not so diligent in his charge as he ought to be, and therefore should be quickened by her

Majesty to look better to his flock, that they may be induced to come to church according to the law, or else feel the smart of the same. Through the mercy of God, both the thorny ground, the cockley seed, and the popish poppy shall perish together. Amen, for his mercy's sake, to all such husbandry!

April 5th.—SADLER TO WALSINGHAM.

I understand that her Majesty is informed of the liberty granted to this Queen to go abroad a hawking, six or seven miles from this castle. I will not deny what is true, yet if it be taken as I meant it, I am sure it cannot be interpreted into any great offence. The truth is, that when I came here, finding this country fit for the sport which I have always delighted in, I sent home for my hawks and falconers, in order the better to pass the miserable life I lead here. When they came, I enjoyed the sport, not far from the castle. This Queen, hearing of it, earnestly entreated me that she might go out with me to see my hawks fly, a pastime in which she takes singular delight. I, thinking it could not be ill taken, assented to her desire, and so she has been out with me three or four times, hawking upon the rivers here, sometimes a mile, sometimes, two miles, but never past three at the farthest from the castle. And for her guard when she was abroad, though I left the soldiers at home with their halberts and firearms, because they cannot well toil on foot, the roads being so foul and deep; yet had I always forty or fifty of my own servants and others on horse-back, and some with pistols, which I knew to be a sufficient guard against any attempt that could be made on a sudden for her escape; of which, I

assure you, I see no manner of cause for fear, as long as the country remains in its present state of quietness. If it were otherwise, and that any such violence were attempted, as her well-wishers could desire, it is not some twenty or thirty soldiers with their halberts and firearms, nor the small power that I have here, nor yet the strength of this castle, which heaven knows is very weak, that could defend us. And therefore, Sir, I used my simple discretion in granting this Queen such a liberty; and the rather, as she thinks herself, by means of the comfortable words and messages she received from her Majesty, to stand on better terms, and to be in better grace with her Majesty, than she has heretofore been. I therefore thought I was doing well; but since it is not so taken, I would to God that some other had this charge, that would use it with more discretion than I can; for I assure you I so weary of it, that if it were not more from a wish to do nothing to offend her Majesty, than for fear of any punishment, I would come home, and yield myself to be a prisoner in the Tower all the days of my life, rather than attend any longer to this charge. Had I known, when I left my home, that I should have tarried here so long, contrary to all the promises made me, I would have refused, as others do, and have yielded to any punishment, rather than have accepted this charge; for a greater punishment could not be inflicted on me, than to force me to remain here in this way, having more need now, in my old and latter days, to rest at home, and prepare myself to quit the miseries and afflictions of life, and to seek the everlasting quietness of the life to come, which the Almighty God grant us, when it

shall be his good pleasure. Nay, were it to light on me to-morrow, I should think myself most happy; for I assure you I am weary of this life, and the more so as I see that things well meant by me, are not so well taken. But now, I trust her Majesty will deliver me from this burden, and lay it upon some one who can better bear it, and more wisely discharge it; though in duty and good-will I will yield to none.*

April 8th.—SADLER TO BURGHLEY.

I write to return my humble thanks to your Lordship for your warm solicitation for my deliverance from this charge, wherein I beseech your Lordship, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, to continue your goodness towards me. I am now overwhelmed with care, sorrow, and grief, to which, as your Lordship knows, wayward age is always subject, being restrained from accustomed liberty; and therefore I trust that her Majesty will have pity and compassion upon me, and now, in respect of my years, will deliver me, according to her gracious promise. I am sorry that her Majesty takes amiss the liberty granted this Queen of late, of hawking upon the river, not far from the Castle, wherein I have not much exceeded the commission, having always been well assured to answer the charge committed to me. I see no cause for such alarms. But, however

* Sir Ralph Sadler was a keen sportsman, and in touching him upon the tender subject of his hawks and falconers, a chord was struck that vibrated to his very heart. This is the real source to which may be traced a burst of pathetic eloquence, of which, in the course of a long life, Sir Ralph had never before been guilty.

things fall out, I am determined to render such an account to her Majesty of this charge, that there shall no fault be imputed to me, of which I am, and will be, as careful as of my own life. And for the time of my continuance here, which I hope will be very short, I will do what I can to keep her more privately, and hinder her from intelligence; though I assure your Lordship it is a very hard thing to do, considering the many that are about her, English, French, and Scotch, as well men as women, who have their necessary errands and business, and who cannot at all hours be seen to.

April 10*th*.—SOMERS TO WALSINGHAM.

In answer to yours, in which you wish me to be careful to intercept letters coming to this Queen from Scotland, would to God it were in my power to perform as much therein as I wish. Many shifts may be resorted to to convey letters to and fro; but apparently the coachman is the only dangerous man. He has not been to Sheffield since we came here, but if he asks leave to go, it is meant to have him searched on his return. As to the Derby carrier, he may be made to depose upon oath to some justice on the way, whether he be the bearer of any thing from this lady, and he may be searched if need be. Being done out of the town, and the messenger charged upon his allegiance not to utter it, it may perhaps be kept from her knowledge. This Nau is very anxious about opening seals upon boxes of things from the French ambassador; when he finds they have been opened, he does not hide his mind, but, depend upon it, he is as well answered.

April 16*th*.—SADLER TO THE BISHOP OF COVENTRY AND LICHFIELD.

If I had known that your leisure from your godly exercises in those parts would have permitted you to come thus far for so good a purpose as you write, I would very gladly have furthered your good offer to preach here, and would have been right glad to have seen and heard you. But as for private preaching, or conference with this Queen, it is forbidden, without warrant from her Majesty, and now, as I am upon the point of departure, Sir Amias Paulet coming here to-morrow, I can return you nothing but my hearty thanks for your proffered courtesy. Surely you may do much good in these counties of Derby and Stafford, where I am informed there are many papists, obstinate recusants to resort to the churches, and who, failing of their duty to God, can hardly be good subjects to her Majesty, or true to the state. Good my Lord, let me beg of you to look abroad, for these are dangerous counties.

April 19*th*.—ELIZABETH TO SADLER.

Whereas you have been heretofore a suitor to us to be released from the custody of our cousin, the Scottish Queen, wherein you have served us most faithfully, to your great credit, and our singular content; we are pleased that you should be now released from that care and charge; for which purpose we have made choice of A. B. and C. D. to supply your place in that behalf, as, by our instructions directed to yourself and them, you shall more at large perceive. And that the said Queen, our cousin, may, on this removal, conceive that our meaning is, that she shall hereafter receive harder usage than she has heretofore done, as also, that the

treaty which was dealt in between us last summer, is now void of all hope of further proceeding: you shall declare to her, that, though some things lately discovered to us may give just cause both for the one and the other, as we dare make herself the judge, when she shall understand the same, as our meaning is she shall; yet, we being led rather to follow our own disposition, which is no way inclined to extremity, than to look upon her deserts, if we receive that satisfaction at her hands which we look for, and which she ought in reason to give, she shall then find us disposed so to act, that she shall have no cause to mislike it. And for her better satisfaction in this behalf, our meaning is that you shall show her these our letters.

ELIZABETH R.

The tone and temper of the above document, including the refusal, up to the very last moment, of gratifying the natural request of her royal prisoner to know the name of her future warden, are things hard to digest by any others than Mr. Sharon Turner, and his brother panegyrists of the gentler virtues and the humanity of Elizabeth.

Anxious as Sadler had felt to be relieved from his onerous charge, this letter was in part satisfactory, though he still remained in ignorance of the person who was to succeed him.

A letter from Mary to the French Ambassador shows her solicitude upon this subject. "Entreat the Lord-treasurer that he be careful in the choice of my new warden, that whatever may happen, whether the death of the Queen, or any rebellion in the country, my life may be safe. But take care to speak of this to Lord Burghley in such a manner

that he may not suspect that you received this communication from me. Complain to him also, that, contrary to the repeated promise of his Sovereign, a treaty has been concluded with my son, without my concurrence. Surely it affords me a just ground to feel myself grievously offended, if it be true, as I am informed, that, by the secret articles of that treaty, the immediate succession to the crown is secured to my son on the death of the Queen of England.* It would be too hard so unjustly to degrade me at the end of eighteen years' imprisonment, and to attempt to deprive me of the only consolation I expected from it, namely, that if God did not permit me to enjoy the crown myself, my posterity should at least receive it from me. To speak plainly, the prospect of this has been the chief cause that has made me more patient in enduring this imprisonment than I should otherwise have been. If I am deprived of this hope, there is no extremity on which I would not venture to deliver myself from the misery in which I am, because it must lead, in the end, to my entire ruin and to my dishonour.

In this letter a remarkable clue is afforded to the character of the Queen of Scots. Though the sceptre had long been wrested from her hands, the passion of royalty remained as strongly as ever enthroned in her breast. Born a Queen, raised by marriage to the Sovereignty of a mighty empire, and heiress by no doubtful right to the throne of Eng-

* I find in the Mss. of the British Museum, a duplicate draft of the treaty, which fully secures the pretensions of James, and which he was anxious to see signed. This, however, was never done by Elizabeth.—(*Raumer*, p. 307.)

land, Mary Stuart could not divest herself of those impressions which she had received with the first consciousness of existence; she ceased not to cherish the conviction that she belonged to a privileged order of beings, and gloried in proclaiming that she was not subject to ordinary laws, nor amenable to any human tribunal. Listen to her language when called upon to yield the preeminence to her son. "The eyes of all Europe are upon me at this moment: were I tamely to yield to my adversaries, I should be pronouncing my own condemnation. A thousand times rather would I submit to death, than inflict this stain upon my honour. The last words I speak shall be those of the Queen of Scotland."

CHAPTER IX.

MARY OF SCOTS IN TUTBURY CASTLE, TIXAL, AND CHARTLEY.

1585.—ÆTAT. 43.—FROM APRIL 20, 1585, TO SEPTEMBER 30, 1586.

Historical Summary—Sir Ralph Sadler surrenders his charge to Sir Amias Paulet—Journal of Paulet—Correspondence of the Queen of Scots with the French ambassador, with Morgan, Paget, &c.—Mary removed to Chartley—Babington's Conspiracy—Mary is transferred to Tixal, and her papers and effects seized—is brought back to Chartley—Arrest of her Secretaries.

WE have now watched the changes of Mary's imprisonment, during a period of nearly eighteen years. "A more weary and distressing course of oppression," says Sir Walter Scott, "mingled from time to time with deceitful glimmerings of delusive hope, is hardly to be found in history." By the jealousy of Elizabeth, her wretched prisoner was now wholly secluded from any social communication with strangers. It required all the efforts of a mind active as her own to resist the dreariness that surrounded her prison. Separated from the female friends who had at first softened the rigour of captivity, she was deprived of all congenial society,

and had no other solace to cheer the lingering hours of solitude than books often perused, or the embroidery, which, when her health became impaired, she was compelled to relinquish. From her former amusements she was restricted; even the relaxation necessary for health was denied her. Whatever spot she approached was rendered solitary; whatever mansion she inhabited assumed the aspect of a fortress strongly guarded against the approach of an enemy; none were permitted to approach the gates without permission, none departed without search. The most ordinary occurrences of every day life furnished matter for discussion and jealousy. By unceasing irritation the elasticity of the soul is destroyed: political intrigues deaden the energies of the imagination. No wonder that under such ungenial influences her natural talent for poetry was neglected, and that her lute was discarded. Her mind was unfitted for the elegant and the beautiful, and, had little else to occupy it than visionary speculations, unfounded hopes, too well grounded suspicions, and corroding resentments. Nothing remained to break upon the death-like stillness of her solitude but the petty intrigues of her wardens, the murmurs of her ill-treated domestics, the embarrassments of procuring subsistence for so large a household as suspicion had gathered round her, and indications of hostility which thickened on every side.

Nor was it in her mind alone that the illustrious captive suffered. It will also be seen that her health was seriously affected by frequent change of residence at inclement seasons of the year, and by exposure to damp and unwholesome apartments in Castles badly ventilated, and, in several instances, in a dilapidated state.

"In this manner," to use the energetic language of Chalmers, "did Elizabeth go on from rumours and suspicions to threats and harsher treatment, narrowing the prison-bounds of the unhappy Mary Stuart, till at last she confined her to her coffin."

That this picture is not overcharged, the reader will have an opportunity of judging from the letters and journals we proceed to lay before him.

On the 20th of April, Sir Amias Paulet, "the sternest of Mary's jailors," as Sir W. Scott justly terms him, entered upon his charge; and to make surety doubly sure, Sir Drue Drury was afterwards added as the associate in his noble employment.

Meantime, Mary was not at her ease in Tutbury, which, after every promise, was not made comfortable. In September, 1585, Chartley, a house belonging to Lord Essex, was viewed, in order to ascertain whether it was fit for her residence; but for a long time permission was refused her to move thither. Nor was any thing left unattempted to harass her feelings and embitter a mind already rendered but too sensitive by her infirmities and misfortunes. Her domestic letters had long been subjected to inspection, and her correspondence with France was now ordered to be sent to Walsingham, for conveyance or interception. When the orders for this were announced to her, she indignantly exclaimed, that "nothing should separate her from her union with France, who was her natural ally; that she could plainly see her destruction was sought; that her life would be taken, and then it would be said that she had died of sickness." She added with her characteristic energy; "When reduced to the lowest ebb, I then feel my heart the greatest. I am

prepared for every extremity, and defy my enemies to do their worst!"

At this period, Mary's indisposition and the infirmity in her legs had augmented greatly. Her puritanical warden congratulated himself upon the circumstance, as it rendered her a cripple incapable of attempting her escape. He endeavoured to persuade his charge to pass the winter in Tutbury, but she had set her heart upon being removed to Chartley, and at length her solicitations, grounded on the state of her health, prevailed. The eve of Christmas day was chosen for the removal, for which purpose the principal gentlemen of the shire and their retainers were summoned to attend. Paulet himself was suffering from the gout, which appears to have soured his temper more than ordinarily. He complains of the trouble given him by the removal, the Queen "having such a quantity of baggage, in apparel, books, and such like trash." In her new residence the health of the Queen improved. In January, Paulet writes to Burghley, that "Mary was better; she could use her limbs, but not without halting; and the defluction had fallen into one of her hands."

On the 3d of June he writes, "Mary is getting a little strength, and has been out in her carriage. The other day she was carried in a chair to one of the adjoining ponds to see the diversion of duck-hunting, but she is not able to walk without support on each side." But this state of convalescence did not last long. Shortly afterwards, we hear Paulet stating that "Mary was worse, sleeping little, and eating less." The rheumatism continued flying about her system, and showing itself in many places

at once. It was with difficulty she could turn in her bed, and was in excessive pain. To this state of suffering and disease, we must add, in the words of Sir W. Scott, "that the economy of Elizabeth did not permit her who had once been a Queen, the accommodations furnished in modern hospitals to invalids of the meanest order." An extract from one of Paulet's letters to Walsingham, will show how far this miserable penuriousness was carried. Were we not to give the very words of this surly warden, we might well lay ourselves under the suspicion of exaggeration. "Last year, when Mary came to Tutbury, she complained that her bed was stained and ill-flavoured; and Mr. Somers, to accommodate her, gave her his own bed, which was a plain feather bed; and now, by her long lying in it, the feathers came through the tick, and its hardness caused her great pain. She begged to have a down-bed, and I could not, in honesty and charity, refuse to mention her request, and desire that one may be sent for her." "Such," exclaims Chalmers, "was the deplorable condition to which was reduced a Queen, who had been the admiration of civilized Europe; for eighteen years did the guilty passions of a neighbouring queen, without right and without feeling, doom her cousin to a life of misery!"

February 25.—Mauvissiere to Mary.

The Queen of England has, I understand, been informed that the Talbots, the Earl of Rutland, and all the nobility in the county where your Majesty resides, have been reconciled, and have promised henceforth to be on good terms one with another. She seems to think that this is all for your sake, and has consequently become so suspicious and

angry, that if possible she would ruin them all on that account. She is desirous to have you removed to Hartford, where you are to have a new warden, servants, and guards, as those more north appeared to be too much your friends. I will endeavour to learn more upon this subject, and will take occasion to-morrow to represent to the Queen of England that there is neither reason nor occasion to place you under the care of another person. If possible I will avert this blow. Write, however, to the Queen and her council.—It is now said that there is no intention of changing your place of abode. All these people, however, are so deceitful, so little to be depended upon, that I place no reliance on what they say. Do you, Madame, on your part, take heed that you do not fall into the hands of your enemies; I, on my side, will do all that lies in my power. Write to the Lord Treasurer, and send the letter to me; he is, after all, the best of a bad set, and the most likely to listen to reason.

March 2.—MARY TO BURGHLEY.

I am determined to send an ambassador to Scotland, to come to a final decision with my son. The treaty is the only thing in the world that can ease my body and mind; for I feel so depressed by these seventeen years of captivity, that I can bear it no longer. I therefore earnestly entreat that an end may be put to it, without making me die a lingering death.—I am greatly obliged to the Queen, my good sister, for the care she is pleased to express for my honourable treatment; but nothing can I consider done for me, till the six horses be allowed me and my people; without them I am shut up, and cannot enjoy the fresh air, to recover and preserve my

health, as those who have had charge of me can sufficiently attest.—There is another matter I must trouble you with, namely, that my servants may be permitted to purchase grocery and other articles for me in the neighbouring town, under a sufficient guard. It is vexatious not to have at hand such like trifles when I want them.

March 27.—MAUVISSIERE TO MARY.

I have shown the Bishop of St. Andrews several letters which manifest your Majesty's affection for your son. He was delighted with them, and requested my permission to allow him to send copies of them into Scotland. He said it was the very opposite to what the Queen of England had told him only two days before; that your Majesty had written to her, that James not only had no good natural disposition, but that he was false in all things, and so hollow-hearted that he would deceive her, do what she would. The Queen added many other things full of bitterness against your Majesty, and among other this; that she wondered since James had caused the Earl of Morton to be executed as guilty of the death of the King his father, and requires Archibald Douglass to be given up to treat him in the same way, why he does not also demand his mother to be delivered up, in order to punish her for the same. In a word, the Bishop confessed to me that he found in the said Queen nothing but aversion to you and your son, and a disposition to keep up a constant enmity between you.—As the conversation was kept up in Latin, she said to the Bishop smiling; I am more afraid of making a fault in my Latin, than I am of all your Kings of Spain, France, or Scotland; nay of the Queen of Scotland

herself, and all the Guises into the bargain. To all that I have said and written to the Queen and her council, respecting your deliverance, I can obtain nothing satisfactory; nor have I thought it adviseable to press her too much respecting the examinations which have commenced against the Catholics, on account of the recent conspiracies, for fear of receiving some disagreeable answer, and perhaps of making things worse; for they suspect the very walls and shadows.

April 8th.—MARY TO ELIZABETH.

MADAM,—Upon occasion of a very unfortunate and lamentable occurrence, which took place the day before yesterday in this house, within ten paces of my chamber, and almost in full view of my windows; namely, the violent death of a poor young man, a Catholic as it is said, imprisoned here so near me, these three weeks, and solely on account of his religion, as the violence publicly exercised against him demonstrates; it is necessary for me to represent to you, how much I consider this event as importing me to take heed to my safety, with respect to any person who may be appointed to be my guard here. Madam, whether this man were reduced to the extremity of making away with himself as some say, whether his days were shortened by violence, or whether he was the victim of bad treatment, I have seen him at different times dragged by force across the court of this castle, to go against his conscience to the place of their worship; a thing which might have been done elsewhere, at least, than in my presence, and in this house, which you have not, I suppose, destined to be a common jail, if there be any respect for me who profess the same

religion. If such violence has been used against a poor simple man, purely on the score of his religion, without allegation, as far as I can learn, of any crime, his life or death being a thing of no profit or interest to any one whatever, I leave you to judge, then, what I may expect from such zealots of puritanism? I, in whose death they have placed the whole gain of their cause, and the surest road to come at the usurpation of my crown. But I pray you not to think that I attribute this to Sir Ralph Sadler, as, in my conscience, I judge him to be an honourable gentleman, and so upright before God and you, that I am not afraid of his knowingly committing any wicked action.

For these puritans to say they have no eye to future hopes, is a mere fable, under which they conceal the corruptness,—the purity as they call it, of their intention; which is, to make the monarchy elective for the time to come, by means of the present destruction of your blood and of the legal succession in me. I verily think I should not have been this day alive, had you been inclined to believe one of them, one too who holds a high office near you [Burghley], whom the Countess of Shrewsbury once told me you had reproached, because if you had followed his counsel, you would have stained your hands with my blood. Calling to mind, therefore, the practises tending to the same effect, as revealed to me by that Countess, and those which were set on foot against me in this last Parliament, thwarted by none but yourself, and also the secret conspiracy of the Association, made to effect a general massacre both of me, and of those of my religion, which is the principal object of this faction; without giving themselves any trouble about the

inconveniences and dangers into which they might precipitate you; I supplicate you most earnestly, Madam, to grant me, on any condition whatever without prejudice to my conscience, a deliverance out of this long and miserable captivity. In place of being sincerely and faithfully dealt with here, endeavouring as I have done to accommodate myself to your intentions, all I hear of are new retrenchments, orders, and restrictions. These things would annoy me the more, were it not for the entire confidence I have placed in your natural good disposition, your promises, and the hope that I have of seeing them carried into effect.

I should, therefore, be glad to know, whether this rude treatment and these restrictions proceed from your command. I defy my enemies to alledge any thing on my part to deserve them. But I see but too clearly, that so long as I remain in this country, however strict a guard you may set upon me, whatever sincerity I may practise with you, however I make it a duty to let you see clearly into all my actions and behaviour towards you; in short, if, as the saying is, I were to divide myself into four quarters to please you, my enemies would never permit you to be in peace with me, nor to receive peace from you. To me will they impute whatever is to your discontent, not only here, but in all Christendom; and when a pretext fails them, they will not fail to invent one, to keep you in perpetual distrust of me, and myself in continual turmoil and apprehension. For instance, they say that Parry disguised his wicked design as being done in my cause. How can I better acquit myself of this, and of all such practices, than by publicly declaring, that all such persons are my mortal enemies. If the advantageous

offers I have made you for my deliverance were, as you were pleased to acknowledge, such that nothing more could be desired, do me the honour to let me know what more you desire now, be it even the deprivation of all right to the succession to the crown, if you think that this may be conducive to your safety.

For God's sake take care, that, step by step, you do not permit this puritan faction to grow to such a head in number, force, and usurpation of authority, that, if you do not provide in time, you may find it no longer in your power to secure to me either my right or my life. Without doubt, they will at last give you the law themselves. Recollect that in the book formerly read to me by the Countess of Shrewsbury, they boldly affirm that it is not in your power to name any Catholic your heir. It will be for them, then, to elect an heir by force, in any manner they presume: and what is this, but to compel me at last, in spite of myself, to submit to their mercy both my life, and my right after you in the succession to the crown? I have informed you, that I was content to yield to you; but, happen what may, I never will do the same to any subject of yours. Therefore, Madam, take heed, if you please, to whom you commit me, while I await your resolution as to my deliverance. Your own safety is at stake. When they have me in their hands, and at their disposal, one great obstacle is removed out of the way.

I have no doubt that your intention towards me is sincere; I have no distrust of your word. But when, contrary to your intention, and without your knowledge, my life shall be taken from me, who will be able to repair the loss? To go farther: who

is there among them, that would think he had done any thing unjust or unworthy of himself, as you stated in your last, in executing what he has promised and sworn in the Association, namely, to ruin by all means all those in whose favour any thing should be attempted against your person. The examination of Parry, who, it is said, was once their spy, will be of service to them in this respect. Consider to what issue these things indirectly tend; it is a secret, oligarchical plot, masked under the specious title of an Association for your preservation. I never approved of this plot; on the contrary, I always cried out against it, being bound, as I repeat it, to study your preservation, which is no less dear to me, than to any subject you have.

And here, permit me to say freely to you, and that in declaration of the perfect interest I take in your safety, that it is very dangerous for you to suffer your subjects to be so persecuted and harassed against their conscience, solely on the score of religion. The despair that may thence arise in the breasts of many, in perceiving before their eyes irretrievable ruin, may produce fatal and incalculable effects, as in the case of the poor man here, if it be true that he made away with himself. My Secretary has told me, that he has heard from your own mouth, that it never was your intention that any of your subjects should suffer solely for religion and conscience' sake. So long as this was observed in the first years of your reign, you had great tranquillity, no person being charged with crimes against you. For God's sake, Madam, keep that holy resolution, worthy of you, and of all those of your rank. The example of our age throughout all Christendom has given you sufficient proofs how little human

force can do in the matter of religion, whose spirit is from above. For my part, should it come to pass that an open attack were made upon my religion, I am, by the grace of God, perfectly ready to lay down my neck under the axe, and shed my blood before all Christendom; and I should esteem it a great happiness to be among the foremost. I do not say this through vain-glory, as if I were at any great distance from danger.

Once more, then, Madam, I beseech you to put an end to my sufferings, and to deliver me in the manner it shall please you, from this miserable prison; which I may now more justly than ever call a prison, and worse, seeing such deeds committed here. Let me languish here no longer, merely to prolong the persecution against me, solely for having the honour to be one of your nearest relatives by blood. It would be a very great cruelty to make me undergo so many evils, because I have preserved that honour unblemished from my birth. I wait your answer and final resolution, nothing now remaining but my life to offer you, after all other conditions proposed to obtain my deliverance. Humbly kissing your hands, I pray God that he may have you, Madam, my good sister, in his holy keeping.

Your very humble and very affectionate
Sister and Cousin,
MARIE R.

From Tutbury.

April 10th.—MAUVISSIERE TO THE SAME.

I told you in my last that all was jealousy and suspicion here. I have lately had a farther proof of it. Would you believe it, that the Queen of Eng-

land and some of her council, had felt convinced that Walsingham had entirely taken your part. Nothing could be like their jealousy on this head. To avert this suspicion, he pretended to be mightily incensed with you, and vowed that never again would he meddle in your affairs, but at the express command of the Queen, his mistress. Your letters came very apropos, to cure him of the notion that you wished him ill, though he was shy of confessing it, and made difficulties of receiving them from any hand, but mine. He told me, that, for his part, he did not require any apology; every excuse was unnecessary, as he well believed your Majesty had never entertained a favourable opinion of him, nor borne any good will towards him. Of this be assured, that, if your Majesty can amuse him, he may perform you a good service when the moment arrives.

April 25th.—PAULET TO BURGHLEY.

This morning, at Mary's invitation, I visited her in her chamber. I found her sitting upon the side of her bed, but not yet able to use her feet. She touched upon the French troubles, but this is a subject in which we differ very much in opinion. Many of her servants are ill, and I have great trouble in nursing them. I have kept her fasting from all sort of news, good and bad; but I believe she has some secret means of getting information.

May 15.—In a letter to Castlenau, of this date, Mary makes the following complaint.—Among other innovations introduced here, I must complain by you to the Queen, my good sister, that, for some days past, Paulet has refused to permit me to send some few alms, according to my means, to the poor

of this village. Truly I can but ascribe this to a very strange rigour; it being a pious work, with which no Christian can find fault; and in which Paulet, if he suspected any other than a pure motive, might act with his usual caution, by causing my servant to be accompanied by such of his people and soldiers, as he thought proper; nay, by the constable of the village, if it was deemed necessary. In this manner, no fault could be found with my desire to do some little good, nor any room be left for suspicion. Having made all necessary provision for the security of his charge, it seems wrong to disappoint me in a Christian work, which, during my maladies and afflictions, might prove a source of consolation to me, without offence or prejudice to any person whatever. Be pleased, Sir, to remonstrate on this to the Queen, my good sister, and beg of her to command Paulet not to use me in this manner; for there is no criminal or prisoner, however poor, vile, or abject, to whom this permission has ever, by any law, been denied.

May 22.—PAULET TO BURGHLEY.

The Queen is rather better to-day; she took a drive out to witness a wild-duck chase. She can, however, walk but little, and not without being supported on each side. Nau said to one Boullanger, that his mistress was dropsical, nor was it with a cancer her legs were affected; that she is increasing in health and strength daily, and hopes in time to see herself perfectly recovered, and restored for the comfort of her friends.

May 23.—MARY TO MAUVISSIERE.

Believe me, M. Mauvissiere, my enemies endea-

vour in every possible manner to derive advantage from the divisions which they sow everywhere, in the same manner as I remember they formerly spread a report that the Queen-mother (Catherine de Medicis) hated me extremely, on account of my bad conduct and disobedience to her while I was in France, and yet she lately gave very good testimony in my favour at audiences which Lord Glasgow and Lord Seton had with her. And I truly believe that none of her own daughters ever showed her more honour, deference and obedience in all things. Do me the favour to thank her on my part, for the assurances which she gave those ambassadors, of her entire attachment to me and my son, and that I will, as long as I live, do my utmost to deserve it. Entreat her most earnestly to take care of my poor child and of my wretched state.

As to my liberty, I wish to enjoy it out of England, or, if I consented to remain here, that it should be more ample and favourable than was proposed last year, when, in order to deliver my son from the hands of the rebels, I was obliged to offer my person as security.—With respect to your journey to Scotland, I have, according to your advice, appeared rather to doubt of it than to desire it, in order that they may more readily agree to it; but then I have urged that you might be permitted to visit me by the way, as this is one of the principal parts of your commission; and by this means could you not bring Archibald Douglas with you? You will make arrangements with him respecting all that he has written to me, and what you have written in his favour. Meantime do you and he be on your guard against Walsingham, for, notwithstanding all the fine speeches which he makes to you, I know that

he will not spare me, nor any of my friends, if he can find anything against me.—On the condition that my son is safe, I will willingly suffer the worst that they can do to me here, both in changing my keeper and restricting my liberty. My resolution, therefore, is to labour by all means for the liberty and safety of myself and son, and to bring about a good understanding with the Queen of England. With a view to this object, we must direct all our plans and actions to the satisfaction of Elizabeth, in order that we may obtain, under her protection, the confirmation of our right of succession to the crown. However, till I see the treaty before me, I will not suffer myself to be deceived by idle hopes, or exalt those rebels over the head of my son, and throw him by their means at the feet of the Queen. In a word, I will have something in my left hand before I throw away what I have in the right.—And now, as the Lord-treasurer has received from me an answer such as he desires (that is to say, resolute, sincere, and unequivocal), it is now his business, and that of the other counsellors, to show the sincerity of themselves and of their Queen towards me, who remain in their hands as pledge and security for my offers and promises, for which I can receive no equivalent from them, and yet I want something more than fair speeches.—Nau shall be ready to accompany you to Scotland.

The reader will not fail to remark a change of tone in the present warden of the Queen of Scots. Heretofore he has been accustomed to hear Mary Stuart spoken of as "this Queen," or "this Lady," henceforward he will find her familiarly designated by the name of Mary.

June 5th.—PAULET TO BURGHLEY.

I will look over the packets intended for Mary, as soon as they are delivered to me. My plain, round, and sincere dealing with her,—if it be lawful to speak so well of myself, wins me credit here; because, as they find that I do not fear to do my duty to my charge, so I do nothing maliciously or forwardly.

June 10th.—PAULET TO THE SAME.

Mary complains of being restricted in distributing alms, and that the Queen's Majesty does not inquire after her during her illness. I replied to her, that alms ought not to be given to gain the favour of the people, and that, in regard to the Queen's Majesty, she should not judge too hastily.—It is this Nau who excites Mary to violent measures. He should beware how he abuses his great credit to her hurt, by his distemperate and violent counsels, wherein his 'haste might make more waste' in one hour, than he could make good in all his life after. I know this Nau better than I may make known by writing; indeed, I know him so well, that I should be glad with all my heart if he were removed.

June 12th.—PAULET TO THE SAME.

Mary cannot escape without great negligence on my part. If I should be violently attacked, I will be so assured by the grace of God, that she shall die before me. This constant vigilance and watching, the washerwomen who go and come, and her train give me a very great deal of trouble. Sometimes Mary is carried in her chair into the garden; but sometimes she uses her feet, being supported by two of her gentlemen, so that it seems her legs are

yet weak; indeed, they are wrapped in a gross manner, as has appeared to my wife.—There is no other house or seat in the neighbourhood, to which Mary could be moved.

July 10*th*.—THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO MAUVISSIERE.

SIR,—I am happy to inform you that my health is pretty good, notwithstanding the arbitrary manner, and increase of rigour with which I am treated by this warden of mine. I find myself in very great perplexity in regard to my abode in this house, if it be intended that I should pass the next winter here. The timber-work of the house, as I before told you, is in a wretched condition. The wind enters my chamber on all sides, so that I do not know how it will be in my power to preserve the little health I have regained, during the rigours of the coming season. My physician, who is in a good deal of concern on this point, expressly says, that he will give up all hope of curing me, if I am not provided with a better lodging. While he watched me, during my last indisposition, he found my chamber exceedingly cold during the night time, notwithstanding the stoves and continual fire there, and the warmth of the season of the year. If such be the case now, I leave you to judge how it will be in the middle of winter; this house being situated upon a hill in the middle of a plain about two miles in circumference, exposed to all the winds and inclemency of the season. There are a hundred peasants in the very village at the foot of the Castle, better lodged than I am; my whole accommodation consisting of two small wretched rooms and some closets, not fit for any thing (if I must so say it)

but water-closets. I have no place for recreation, no covered walk to take the air in the day-time; in a word, of all the lodgings I have had in England, this is the most unhealthy and inconvenient. I am willing to believe that the Queen, my good sister, will not think me troublesome in making these remonstrances, to which pure necessity compels me. For six months past, no care has been taken to remedy these inconveniences, and yet I have remained silent and patient, in testimony of which I refer to my warden. I thank you affectionately for the duty you have shown in consoling me upon the delay of the treaty for my liberty. I doubt not you have informed me of the true reasons alledged for it; they are the very counterpart of the excuses in times past, at one time a revolution in Scotland, at another some new trouble in France, and then again the discovery of some conspiracy at home; in a word, the smallest incident that can come to pass in Christendom is converted into cause sufficient. The whole thing amounts to this;—as the children say, they will be content when every body else is agreed.

July 17th.—In a letter from Mauvissiere to the Bishop of St. Andrews, he thus feelingly expresses himself:—"I know no heart in the world which ought not to be moved to wish the Queen of Scotland well. Nothing can equal the virtue, prudence, and patience, with which she daily submits to the will of God, with no other interest in worldly matters save for the King her son, whose greatness and happiness are the only objects she has at heart. This unfortunate princess endeavours to gain all her relations, friends, and allies in his favour, and to move Elizabeth, by innumerable letters, to be a friend and a mother to him."

August 8th.—PAULET TO BURGHLEY.

You write to me that this Queen has desired, that, for the cleansing and airing of this house, she may for a time remove to some place; but certain it is that there is no house in these parts sufficiently commodious for her and her train, or of sufficient surety for her warden. The Lord Paget has only two houses: one at Burton, three miles distant from this castle, a ruinous house, and adjoining a very poor town, full of bad neighbours; the other at Beaudesert, seven miles distant, also a house of no strength. Both these houses are entirely unfurnished, so that furniture must be carried from this castle, which will be a matter of excessive charge and trouble, and almost impossible to be performed, my charge being such, that my company cannot be divided one day and night without peril. If it be necessary to remove her for a short time, in my simple opinion it should be to some house already furnished, of which kind I know no other than Mr. Cavendish's, which being insufficiently furnished to receive this company, the defect might be supplied from hence. But to say nothing of the weakness of the house, it is not capable of receiving the Scottish train, so that they would have to lodge in different places. Another thing I may add, that this country is so ill-affected,—a thing not unknown to you, that I think no man of judgment would willingly take charge of this Queen in any house in this shire, out of the castle. No doubt this Queen was in some hope of being removed to Mr. Cavendish's house, as I have before written, and this is the secret of the present motion. In conference with her, Nau being present, I stated that the house was in no way fit for her. Nau observed that nothing far-

ther could be said; so that, as the matter of removing is no farther urged, it seems they are satisfied. Notwithstanding, following your directions, and that this Queen might know her Majesty's favour towards her, I have given her to understand that her Highness is well pleased that she should be removed, if any fitting house can be found. I told her of the above houses, and said that Mr. Cavendish's house was not sufficient for her train, and that the house at Burton stands so near the river that it will be injurious to her health to remove thither. I added, that the weather had been such for a long time, that there is little sign of summer, and that, use all the diligence we can, before this removal is performed, and beer, wine, wood, coals, and other necessaries provided, winter will be in its full strength. She replied very little, but observed that the Earl of Shrewsbury found no difficulty in removing his household stuff from one house to another; and that if Mr. Cavendish's house were too little, some of her company might be lodged in the town. I answered that, possibly, the Earl removed some of his best furniture, but was not troubled with his kitchen stuff, bedsteads, table-boards, and such like; and that it was very inconvenient for her train to be lodged far from her. I prayed her to consider all this, and she said she would do so: so I think I shall hear little more of the matter. Should any new motion in this respect be made by the French ambassador, you will be pleased to take no notice of what has passed between this Queen and me, till I shall hear her determination.—I received the three packets for this Queen, and have perused them with her good liking; having run over the first packet, I immediately sent it to her, and so

one after the other, till all were delivered: this pleased her greatly.* The French ambassador, in his letters to this Queen, does not change his tone in regard to Archibald Douglas, saying that he advises her to appoint the said Archibald to manage her affairs at that court. All other things mentioned in the said packets, and which appeared to me worthy to be observed, are contained in the enclosed paper. It is very likely that I have noted many needless things, for which I crave pardon; but of this I am sure, that I have omitted nothing that concerns the Queen or my country; and I have used such expedition therein, that *I am much deceived if this Queen thinks any thing less than that I have taken any extracts from her letters.*†

August 12th.—The following is from one of Mary's last letters to Mauvissiere, previously to his leaving England:—I have received your three letters, which, I freely avow, have afforded me more consolation and comfort, than the happy reconciliations of my relations [the Princes of Lorraine] with their king. Seeing myself deprived of all hope of friendship with the Queen, my good sister, and of being serviceable to this state, as I had sincerely hoped to be, it is a great consolation to me to see that my

* After long ill-treatment by a scurvy world, a very little kindness will have a marvellous effect on a man.—*Sir Thomas Browne.*

† Surely in the liberty thus taken with the private letters of the Queen of Scots, the good warden exceeded his instructions, which were to overlook and examine, but not one word of clandestine copying. We shall have occasion to see that Paulet was a man of integrity, and it will lead us to regret the more that such a man could stoop to mean artifice, and base subserviency to an unworthy mistress.

friends do not follow the course of my misery and misfortune. I beg you, then, to testify to the King, my brother, and to the Queen, my sister-in-law, my congratulation on this account, as I consider this reunion of their faithful subjects with them, as the true and only foundation for the peace and stability of France. As to my health, after my course of medicine, I had hopes of regaining my strength, as in truth I did for a time; but fifteen days since, I relapsed again, and have been troubled with a rheumatic affection,—an evil occasioned chiefly by the wind that blows through the chinks of my apartment, and the moisture and coldness to which my chamber is subject, as my physician has stated to Paulet. If it be not troublesome to you, I would willingly empower you to remonstrate upon the just displeasure which I feel on account of the little respect paid by the King my brother's Council to my present state and necessities, in withholding from me the little that remains of my dowry, after its diminution by the troubles in France, and the to me very extraordinary deduction of two whole Lordships in the Duchy of Lorraine, &c. In consequence, I foresee that I shall be in want of the ordinary necessaries of life, and that many of my poor officers will suffer, which is a great grievance to me.

The Countess of Athol, whom you know, made me an offer in her last letters to come to me, and serve me, with her young daughter; this is very agreeable news to me, as it would be a great consolation to me to have such a lady near me, as I am in want, I may say, of all company suitable to my rank. If, therefore, you ever had a desire to do me a pleasure, I beg of you to endeavour by all means

in your power, to get a passport for her, stating to the Queen, my good sister, that this will occasion but a trifling more expense, considering the value of the obligation which it places me under to her. I promise that the Countess, out of love for me, will reduce her number of attendants, and content herself with as small a train as can be, in proportion to my own. Remember the promise you made me, to write to me from time to time.

The following letter, written on the same occasion, is a pleasing proof, among many others, of the warmth of Mary's gratitude for the services of her friends and servants.

August 15th.—MARY TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

Monsieur, my Brother-in-Law,—Not to be wanting to the obligation which I lie under for the signal and commendable services I have received from M. Castlenau, during his embassy in this kingdom, I have thought I could do no less, upon his returning to you, than to send with him, this testimony and prayer in his favour. As the little that remains to me of means in this world, does not enable me to be grateful to him according to his merits and my favour, may it please you to take them into consideration yourself, along with the recompense he has to receive from you, for his good and long-tried services. And for a beginning, I beg you most affectionately, that the Bailliage of Vitry, which I have granted him, being in my gift, may be made good to him, in which, too, I have great interest, for the preservation of my rights. Referring to him to impart to you an account of my present state, and some other particulars which I have committed to him, I conclude with my humble recommendations to your

good Grace, praying God to give you a long and happy life.

Yours, &c.

MARIE.

At Tutbury.

The last service which Mauvissiere rendered to the Queen of Scots, in England, was a promise of her removal from the shattered walls of Tutbury, to the more comfortable residence of Chartley. On his leaving, the desired change was put off again; and it was only accomplished by the King of France, who, at the instance of Castlenau, induced Elizabeth to perform her promise. Elated by obliging letters and illusory hopes from her *good* sister, Mary thus writes to Mauvissiere.

August 17.—I have received letters from the Queen of England, full of so much courtesy and demonstration of good will, that I must say that, for these few months, I have not felt such consolation under all my miseries both of mind and body, as I have done by this remembrance which it appears she has of me and of my state here. I beg you to thank her very affectionately for it, on my part, and present her my answer on this subject, which I here send you. You may assure her, in my name, that I will always render her as much duty, friendship, respect and obedience, in all that concerns her well-being, her honor, and government, as if she were my elder sister; promising myself, on her part, further proof of her good disposition towards me, which my enemies by their perverse counsels have not yet permitted her to shew. Happen what may, I will live and die a good Englishwoman; more attentive to the well-being of the Queen, my good

sister, and to the welfare of this nation, than to the factions of my enemies, or the injuries I am doomed to receive from them.

August 18*th*.—PAULET TO BURGHLEY.

This day I had a long conversation with Mary. She said that she had given herself wholly to her Majesty, in all humbleness, in all faithfulness, in all integrity,—I use her own words, and to please her Highness, had renounced all foreign help, and thereby had given her to know that she depended wholly on her. She added, that her words had no credit; that she was in no way believed; that her proffers were refused, when they might have done good.—That she had proffered her heart and body to her Majesty: her body is taken, and good care had for the safe keeping of it; but her heart is refused. She said, if she were employed she might do good, and when she shall be required hereafter, it will be too late. Then she is said to boast, when she offered herself and her service with all humbleness; then she is said to flatter, when she felt the smart of every accident that happened, to the danger of her Majesty's person or estate, although she was guiltless in hand and tongue. That if she had desired great liberty, her Majesty might have justly been jealous of her, but she desired only reasonable liberty for her health. That if the treaty had proceeded between her Majesty and her, she knew that France had now been quiet. That, in considering the indispositions of her body, she had no hope of long life, and much less of a pleasant life, having lost the use of her limbs, and therefore is far from the humours of ambition, desiring only to be well accepted where she shall deserve well, and by that

means during her short days to carry a contented and satisfied mind. That it was not her calling to win fame by victories, but that she could think herself happy if, by her mediation, peace might be maintained in all countries generally, and in this country especially. That if she had spoken with the King of Navarre's ambassador at his being here last winter, she thinks there had been now good amity between her Majesty and the house of Guise, and did not doubt to have done some good if she had been made acquainted with his last coming here. That her son is a stranger to her, but if he should be possessed with ambition, he might play off both hands and do bad offices. That he expressed to her in his letters that he was shut up in a desert, so that he could not send to her, or hear from her, which was the reason that he helped himself by other means the best he could, and was forced to do so. Finally, that although she had been esteemed as nobody, and had determined, when her help was hereafter required, to be indeed as nobody, and so to answer; yet for the love she bears her Majesty and this realm, she will not refuse to employ her best means, if it shall please her Highness to use her service, which she will do, not so much for respect of her own particular good, as for her Majesty's security and the benefit of this realm. I omit the protestations of her sincere and upright dealing with her Majesty, and her solemn oaths, that she had not for a long time given or received any intelligence to or from any of her friends, because they are no new things unto you. It seemed she could not satisfy herself with speaking, and therefore I said the less, advising her to comfort herself with your Majesty's favour, whereof no doubt some good effect would

come, if herself or her friends did not give cause to the contrary. I know this kind of matter is not new to you, and perchance I should have forborne at some other time to have reported the same; but, considering the scope of her Majesty's letter to this Queen, I thought it agreeable with my duty to acquaint you with her speeches, and so refer them to your better consideration.

August 21.—MAUVISSIERE TO HENRY III.

I have not been able to send your Majesty any information for the last fortnight, all the roads to France being closed on account of a conspiracy which was directed against the Queen and the state. She told me herself that she has had from twenty-five to thirty persons, all Catholics, arrested on account of it, and this continues daily. A great sensation was caused by it in this town, where the people are much incensed against the Catholics; nay, for eight or ten days there was reason to apprehend that acts of violence would be committed upon all who were considered to be Catholics; bonfires were lighted in every street, and the bells rung for twenty-four hours together, because the Queen had escaped from so great a danger. It was determined, it is said, to shoot the Queen on the 15th of August, and, according to the plan agreed upon, every Catholic in the kingdom was to take up arms, and place Queen Mary on the throne. Elizabeth, at least, ascribes the whole undertaking to her, for which reason M. d'Esneval and I repaired to Windsor last Sunday, when she said to me, "I know that the Queen of Scotland contrived this. This, in truth, is repaying evil for good, and the more so as I have several times saved her life. The

King of France will have news in a few days that will little please him." I replied, that she ought not to believe every calumny that was contrived against the Queen, her prisoner, who had (as she well knew) many enemies in this kingdom. I further entreated her to explain to me the words respecting your majesty, as they would appear as strange to you as they did to me. She replied, her ambassador at Paris would give this explanation. On my urging her more closely, and saying I knew not what bad news could reach your Majesty from this country, as she was your ally, and was in good health, she merely added, she believed your Majesty would find it very strange that so wicked a plot had been contrived against her.

For the understanding of this, I must inform your Majesty, that during the ten or twelve days that the investigations were carrying on with the greatest ardour, there was a report in the city that this conspiracy had its origin in France, and that even your Majesty and the King of Spain took part in it; that your fleet was in readiness to aid it, and that those leaders of the plot who had not yet been discovered, were concealed in my house, and that it ought to be forcibly searched. Those of her council who believed this, caused all the avenues and the neighbouring houses to be guarded, in order that I might not let them effect their escape during the night; every one, indeed, who has left my house since that time has been stopped and closely questioned. I have accordingly complained of this report, and also of a thousand scandalous and insulting words which my people are exposed to in the streets; and that I was as if besieged, and in danger of being plundered, &c. The only answer I received was, "The peo-

ple are greatly excited, and cannot be restrained." Walsingham, the Secretary of State, said the same thing had occurred at Paris on the night of St. Bartholomew. Whereupon I wrote to them to say, that, so far from wishing to conceal those of whom they were in search, I was, on the contrary, ready to open my house and suffer it to be searched. But I could get nothing from them but fair speeches, and it was not till the parties they were in search of were arrested, ten or twelve leagues off, that the tumult in some measure subsided, and the guard removed from my house, although several spies still continue to be stationed in the neighbourhood to watch those who go in or out.

I therefore made heavy complaints to the Queen last Sunday, and named to her those who had openly maligned your Majesty, (most of them Frenchmen who have fled here on account of their religion,) and demanded their punishment. Elizabeth answered, that she much regretted it, and had never entertained a bad opinion of your Majesty. Should any one malign your majesty, she was ready to have him punished; nevertheless, it was not possible to prevent people from speaking, and she well knew that perhaps a hundred thousand persons spoke ill of her in France. Upon this, I said, "If her ambassador would give himself the trouble to name them, your Majesty would see that justice was done." She added, "Then it would be necessary to examine the accused and ascertain the truth of it." Although, therefore, the facts are well known, and the words spoken in the public market-place, I should be compelled to bring forward evidences and witnesses, and to name those who had informed me of the whole, which I would in no case do. Wherefore I

pray you, sire, speak to the English ambassador at Paris, or else command me what I should do in this business.

I afterwards spoke to Elizabeth respecting the ships which had sailed to Rochelle with men and ammunition, and were equipped by fugitive Protestants. She answered, "I know nothing of the matter; and if I arm, it is to protect myself against my enemies, and not to offend my friends. They desire to kill me or drive me out of the kingdom, and to place the Queen of Scotland upon the throne. But I will set all these things to rights."

After Elizabeth had uttered many other bitter remarks on Mary, I took my leave, for it was late, and on my return to this city learnt that Nau and Curl, Secretaries of the Queen of Scotland, were brought here yesterday evening prisoners, with a large chest full of papers, and that they are strictly guarded in Walsingham's house. This, sire, in connection with what Elizabeth said, induces me to conjecture that she will ill-treat the Queen of Scotland, and the more so as she takes from her Mr. Nau, her principal servant. I hear, too, that he is strictly interrogated respecting the conspiracy, and rigorously guarded.

For these reasons I send my Secretary to your Majesty, and request that you will as soon as possible acquaint me with your pleasure, in case they should proceed with the process against Nau, and even against the Queen. For I believe that there are people here who contemplate doing her an ill turn in parliament at Michaelmas next; and since now Nau is brought here with all his papers, there can be no other intention than, by some means or other, to effect the ruin of Queen Mary.

September 7.—MAUVISSIERE TO HENRY III.

Sire,—A few days ago I sent my Secretary to you to inform you of the danger in which the Queen of Scotland is placed by the arrest of her two secretaries. The day before yesterday I wrote to the Lord Treasurer that Nau was your Majesty's subject, and the servant of a Sovereign Princess, who, as your brother's widow, was under your special protection, and whom I was directed to serve in anything that might concern her. Burghley and Walsingham, to whom he communicated my letter, answered that Nau was a wicked man; that he and his mistress had contrived this conspiracy against the Queen; a conspiracy so wicked and unhappy, that Elizabeth was resolved to have justice done against Mary and her two secretaries, who had already confessed everything; that, besides this, written proofs and letters of the Queen of Scotland and Nau had been found; that Elizabeth had three times saved the life of her adversary, and now received a very ill reward; also that the King of Spain and Bernardin de Mendoza had been concerned in the conspiracy, whose letters were found among Nau's papers.

Elizabeth, they said, intended to communicate everything to me, and to send a nobleman to your Majesty with all the charges and documents of the proceedings, and that, when you had read them all, you would no longer request her to pardon the Queen of Scotland; that a letter was likewise found among the papers, in which she warns her adherents not to trust me with the conspiracy, with which I should, in that case, have acquainted your Majesty.

This, Sire, is briefly what they told me, from which your Majesty may perceive in what a situation

the affairs of the Queen of Scotland at present stand. Not that I would affirm that they will do all that they say, (for if they intended to do it, they would hardly talk of it,) but at least it will not be owing to Walsingham if they do not ill treat her. At all events, they will put her in so wretched a condition, that she can scarcely be worse off."

In another despatch of the 11th of September, he says:—The Secretaries of the Queen of Scotland, are still under arrest in Walsingham's house, to be interrogated. All their papers and memoranda have been examined and deciphered in the presence of Queen Elizabeth. She has despatched every thing through a gentleman named Baillie, to the King of Scotland.

September 23.—PAULET TO BURGHLEY.

The indisposition of this Queen, and the great infirmity of her leg, which is so desperate that she does not herself hope for her recovery, is of no small advantage to her keeper, who needs not stand in great fear of her running away, if he can but keep a sharp look out that she be not taken from him by force.

In another report to Burghley, of nearly the same date, he says;—Mary is very much grieved with aches in her limbs, so that she is not able to move in her bed without great help, and when she is moved, endures great pain.*

* On this letter the German commentator remarks, in his usual spirit; "Ill as she was, had she still possessed the throne, the idea of abdication would have been more natural, than that of a restoration, under present circumstances." So thinks Mr. Raumer: but he appears to have forgotten Alexander's answer to Parmenio.

Of the same date, is the following touching letter of complaint from

MARY TO MAUVISSIERE.

Foreseeing that it will be late before I receive your answer to my last communication, I will, without waiting for it, lay my just complaint before you, that Sir Amias Paulet, in reply to my memorial respecting my lodging, attendants, &c., has delivered to me an answer which is, in fact, a plain refusal. Although these things appear to my good sister the Queen of England but trifling, and of no moment, they are, nevertheless, of great importance as regards the preservation of my life and health, and of all whom I have left to console me within the walls of my prison. I see, however, daily that they desire to reduce me to the utmost extremity, for if my necessities were not so urgent, I would not trouble her with so many petitions, remonstrances, and entreaties, which to me appears paying a very high price for them. It is also most painful to me, that, in return for the duty which I have voluntarily imposed upon myself to submit to the Queen's pleasure in all things, so little regard is paid to her honour and my comfort by my present mode of treatment.

In order that you may be fully acquainted with all the particulars, in order to represent them in my name to the Queen, who I believe has never been properly informed of them, I shall observe, first, in regard to my lodging, that my residence is a place inclosed with walls, situated on an eminence, and consequently exposed to all the winds and storms of heaven. Within this inclosure there is, like as at Vincennes, a very old hunting-seat, built

of wood and plaster, with chinks on all sides, with the uprights, the intervals between which are not properly filled up, and the plaster dilapidated in numberless places. The house is about six yards distant from the walls, and so low that the terrace on the other side is as high as the house itself, so that neither the sun nor the fresh air can penetrate it on that side. The damp, however, is so great there, that every article of furniture is covered with mouldiness in the space of four days. You may judge for yourself how this must affect my health. In a word, the rooms for the most part are fit rather for a dungeon for the lowest and most abject criminal, than for a residence of a person of my rank, or even of a much inferior one. No gentleman in this country, yea, no inferior, I am convinced, would wish to accommodate me worse than themselves; he would consider it as a punishment and tyranny if he were shut up a twelvemonth in such a habitation, so confined and uncomfortable as that in which I am constrained to dwell. I have for my own accommodation only wretched little rooms, and so cold, that were it not for the protection of the curtains and tapestries which I have had put up, I could not endure it by day, and still less by night. In fact, there is scarcely one among those who have nursed me during my illness, who has escaped without some sickness, fluxion, or cold. Sir Amias Paulet will bear witness, that during this time three of my women were laid up at once. Nay, my physician himself, who has also come in for a share, has several times declared, that if I remained in this house he could not undertake the charge of my health during the ensuing winter. For even if they were to furbish it up, or repair and enlarge it, I

should never be able to live here, as there is nothing on earth that I can stand less than the least damp air.

With respect to the house which it is proposed I should inhabit during the said alterations, it adjoins that which I have described, and even, according to Sir Amias Paulet's statement, will not accommodate my people. I have, however, several reasons to fear inhabiting such a lone dwelling, but will say nothing respecting it here.

In regard to other conveniences, I much want an additional room, into which I can sometimes retire, as I have no place where I can be alone, except two little dark holes which are towards the wall, and the largest is scarcely three yards square. If I desire to go out either on foot or in my chair to get a little fresh air, there being no open space on the top of the hill, I have scarcely a quarter of an acre left me, in the neighbourhood of the stables, which Mr. Somer has had ploughed during the last winter, and encompassed with a wooden fence, and which deserves the name of pigstye rather than of a garden. There is scarcely a sheep-fold in any field which is not more agreeable.

With regard to horse exercise, the roads are so bad, as I experienced last winter, from the effects of snow and rain, that one cannot go even a mile in a carriage, and I am at last obliged to have recourse to my feet.

I must also acquaint you (though I am ashamed to do so) that this house is so filled with the lowest people, that, notwithstanding every effort, it is impossible long to maintain order; and as there are no sewers, I am exposed to a constant stench, and when they are emptied every Saturday, "Je ne recoy pas les plus plaisantes cassolettes."

I must add one thing in conclusion, and to which respect is paid even to persons in an inferior station, especially during illness: this place was my first prison in this realm, and I suffered here so much rigour, insult, and indignity, that I have ever since looked on it as wretched and unfortunate, and wrote to the Queen of England before I came here. In this gloomy notion I have been confirmed by the circumstance that the priest, after he had been cruelly tortured, was hanged on the wall opposite my windows, as I have already written to M. Mauvissiere; and about four or five days ago, another poor man was found drowned in the well, though I will not compare this with the other.

I have lost my good Rally—she was my best comfort in my misfortune; another of my unhappy people has died since, and several still suffer much from sickness.

Being destitute of all conveniences and comforts here, nothing but Elizabeth's promise that I should be well treated has hitherto sustained my patience; otherwise, I should never have set my foot into it, unless I had been dragged hither by force, as force alone shall induce me to remain here. Should I die, I ascribe my death to this residence, and to those who keep me here, in order, as it seems, to make me doubt the good will of the Queen, my sister; for what may I expect in important matters, if I am treated so in trifling and unimportant ones, and faith is not kept with me even in them?*

* Raumer says; "Though Mary's situation in Tutbury *was much improved*, she wished to be removed to Chartley, but there was *no house there* that had suitable accommodations." This it is to be a commentator upon history!

In consequence of these remonstrances, and the urgent representations of the French ambassador, in the month of September, Mary was removed to Chartley, a pleasant country-seat, belonging to Lord Essex. Shortly after her arrival there, she wrote the following letter of acknowledgment to Elizabeth.

MADAME MY GOOD SISTER,—I thank you for having assigned me a better lodging, but must complain that my keeper has announced to me an innovation in a rather authoritative manner, namely, the restriction of my ancient and usual correspondence with the French ambassador. I cannot account for this (to speak plainly to you) except by supposing that my enemies having caused me to be confined for ever, wish to deprive the other kings and princes of Christendom of all knowledge of my situation and treatment, in order more easily to conceal from them what happens to me. For as this does not in any manner affect your safety, I cannot find either reason or pretext for it. All that I write passes through the hands of your people, who see, read, examine, and keep it back, in order to point out to me any fault, if they find in it something offensive or injurious to you.

I therefore entreat you to take off this restriction. I shall never refuse to apply directly and respectfully to you in every thing that concerns me, coming from Scotland and France. But if you consider that, with my almost constant indisposition, I shall not always be able to write to you with my own hand, and that you yourself will not always take the trouble to read my long letters, which are generally tiresome through the daily repetition of the same subject, I am assured that you will relieve me from the one and yourself from the other. With respect to your counsellors,

you will remember that you were displeased on a former occasion with my having applied directly to them, and their having answered me.

Your affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARIE R.

From Chartley.

From the fragment of another letter, it appears that poor Mary, always gentle, forgiving, and generous, had testified her sense of the indulgence extended to her by "her good sister and cousin," by sending her a present of embroidery, in which she so much excelled.

"Being so desirous to do whatever I thought might please you, it was no small satisfaction to me to learn that the simple labour of my hands, and other little testimonies of my natural affection towards you, have been agreeable to you."

In the meantime, Walsingham had been busy with his plots and counterplots, with his spies, his counterfeit letters and intercepted epistles; and when all was mature, he claimed the merit of discovering the plot, and of revealing the whole to his royal mistress.* But for several weeks previous he had suffered the conspirators to thicken the web of the conspiracy, or, to use the apt image of a contemporary writer, "he suffered the fish to play upon the hook." † At last he imparted it to his sovereign.

* Among the MSS. in the British Museum, is the *voluntary confession* of Thomas Harrison, avowing himself to be the Secretary of Walsingham, and charging his employer, Philips, the decypherer, Maude, and others, with having contrived the conspiracy for which the Queen of Scots was put to death.—*Chalmers.*

† Naunton thus characterizes Walsingham: "He is noted to have certain courtesies and secret ways of intelligence of

Her alarm at once cut the thread of the intrigue, and while she praised his ingenuity, she condemned his rashness.* The conspirators were taken, convicted, and punished. Yet, all this while, the Scottish Queen and her servants were kept so closely by Paulet, that she was utterly ignorant of these events, though they were known in every part of England. In the capital, after considerable debating, it was resolved to proceed against the Queen of Scots, under the terms of the Act of the 2d of March of the previous year, which ratified the Association for the protection of Elizabeth's person. We have seen that the language of the statute places the life of any pretender to the crown in equal danger of attainder, whether the party shall or shall not be acquainted with, and participant of the treasonable purpose. It was, nevertheless, extremely desirable to show that Mary was personally accessory to the schemes of Babington; and the most violent measures were resorted to in order to secure the necessary evidence to that effect. Paulet was ordered to seize the private papers of his captive, and pro-

his own. And though I am not very curious in the *arcana imperii*—the secrets of state—yet I must confess that I have to seek why he suffered these conspirators to play so long on the hook, before he netted them. It was a piece of hazard beyond my comprehension. If we might have beheld his cyphers, they would have told pretty tales of the time."—(*Regalia*, p. 76.)

* How far a just government is allowed to proceed in detecting conspiracies that actually exist, I am not prepared to determine; but to invent, or encourage them, in order to get rid of obnoxious persons, is a practice that ought to be confined to those wicked spirits, who tempt men to sin here, in order to punish them hereafter.—Dr. Milner, *Letters to Sturges*, p. 187.

mised, in the religious cant of the age, to perform the commission "with the grace of the Almighty." Sir Thomas Gorges was despatched from the court with a special warrant for the purpose; and it was managed that he should arrive at Chartley, at the moment when Mary was going out on horseback, for the purpose, as it was alledged, of enjoying her favourite amusement of the chase. She was conducted by force to Tixal, the seat of Sir Walter Aston, and here she was restricted to a particular corner of the house, and debarred from the use of pen, ink, and paper. During her absence, Nau and Curl, her secretaries, were separately arrested, and committed to different keepers; her cabinets were broken open, her papers and correspondence, and all she could desire to keep most private,* were rudely seized upon, packed up, and conveyed to Elizabeth. In her presence the whole of these writings were perused. Among them were several letters from English noblemen to Mary, full of expressions of regard and attachment. This must have been wormwood to Elizabeth; but the jealousy of the woman was lost in the wariness of the politician. She swallowed the bitter draught in silence, recalling to mind her favourite motto, VIDEO ET TACEO—"I see, and am silent." The effect was, that the writers of the detected letters, conscious of the suspicious position in which they were placed, (*smelling a rat*, as Udal expresses it,) took every

* It will not be forgotten that among the objects seized was a casket with all the Queen of Scotland's *seals and private cyphers*, "to serve for private packets and all other purposes," as Paulet says in a letter to Walsingham, *to whom* they were consigned.

opportunity during the after-proceedings, to cover their retreat under a redoubled display of hostility to the Scottish Queen.

As soon as Chartley had been sufficiently searched by the commissioners, Paulet determined to carry his charge back again to that castle. He had not spoken with *that lady* since their arrival at Tixal, and did not intend to speak to her. She had not stirred out of her room; her attendants had no access to her, and pen, ink, and paper, were denied to all. On the 30th of August, he conveyed back the spoliated Queen to Chartley. As she left Tixal, she said to the poor people who stood gazing upon her at the door, expecting an alms as usual, "Alas! I have nothing for you; I am a beggar as you are: all is taken from me." When she reached Chartley, she was treated with studied insult. Darrell, Paulet's deputy, approached as she alighted at the gate, and presented her with the keys of her chamber, as well as of her coffers, without acquainting her with what had taken place. A glance from her eye read it all. She commanded Bastian, her steward, not to receive the keys. Addressing Darrell in a tone of authority, she said to him with firmness, "Do your duty, Sir; open my chamber door." He complied; she entered her apartment, and saw at once the indignity that had been offered her. The doors of her cabinets were standing wide open; they had been plundered of their contents; her papers, seals, and private cyphers, were all gone. For a moment she paused; with one of her searching glances she surveyed Paulet from head to foot, and said to him with an air of dignity: "There still remain two things, Sir, which you cannot take from me—my English blood, and my Catholic faith!"

After this outrage, the Queen was divested of those poor insignia of royalty which she had hitherto been allowed to retain. Her canopy of state was removed; the regal title was withdrawn. The insolence of little minds was officious in displaying itself; her keepers remained with their hats on in her presence; and in speaking of her, no longer designated her as the Queen, but simply as "the lady."

The following characteristic trait in Mary's character belongs to this period. In a letter from Paulet to Burghley, he says:—"She visited Curle's wife, who was delivered of a child in her absence, before she went to her own chamber, willing her to be of good comfort, and that she would answer for her husband in all things that might be objected against him. Curle's child remained unbaptized, and the priest removed before the arrival of their lady, she desired that my minister might baptize the child, with such godfathers as I might procure, so as the child might bear her name, which being refused,* she came shortly after into Curle's wife's chamber, where, taking the child on her knees, she took water out of a basin, and casting it upon the face of the child, she said, 'I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' calling the child by her own name, Mary. This may not be found strange in her who maketh no conscience to break the laws of God and man."

A final change of residence, though not till after much indecision, was now destined for the Queen of Scots. The castle of Fotheringay, in North-

* Probably because this child was to have been baptized and brought up according to the Catholic faith.

amptonshire, was her last place of imprisonment, and the final goal of all her wanderings.

September 8th.—MEMORANDA CONCERNING THE SCOTTISH QUEEN.

1. Sir Amias Paulet is to be warned to put all things in order for her removal, without giving her, or any of hers, any warning longer than two or three days, not showing her to what place she is going, but stating a space of two or three days' journey. Warning to be given to certain principal gentlemen to attend with a number of servants for that purpose, from shire to shire.

2. To have letters sent severally to all noblemen that are absent, to be in London on a certain day, or rather, at the Court.

September 8th.—BURGHLEY TO WALSINGHAM.

We are still off and on respecting the place to which the Queen of Scots is to be removed, so that I can tell you nothing for certain. Yesterday the Tower was flatly refused, and instead of Fotheringay, which we thought too far off, Hartford was named, and afterwards the Tower was thought the fittest place; and yet it was objected to on account of its nearness to London. I hope it will be decided on to-day. I will write to Sir Walter Mildmay, to stay brewing and buying in of coals, which in my last I required him to do.—The Queen has agreed upon nine Earls, besides counsellors, and upon eight or more Barons, to hear the cause. Hertford would be a fitter place than Fotheringay. Grafton was also named, but considered unfit.—We insisted upon the calling of Parliament, which her Majesty dislikes to have; but we persisted, in order to make the

burden better borne, and the world abroad better satisfied.

Nau offered on Tuesday to open mueh, but instead of that, he has only written to have a pardon, as yesterday was the Queen's birth-day. I have sent Mr. Mills to challenge him to speak out, and to threaten him with being sent to the Tower, if he does not acquit himself aceording to his promise. I think Curle will be more open; and yet Nau has amply confessed by his hand-writing, that he wrote under that Queen's dietation, and aceording to her own minute, that long letter to Babington. He, however, qualified his mistress' fault by saying that Babington provoked her thereto, and that Morgan prevailed upon her to renew her intelligenee with Babington.

September 10.—PAULET TO WALSINGHAM.

For the better diseharge of those money matters I begged the assistanee of Mr. Riehard Bagot, who repaired to me on the following morning. We had aceess to this Queen, whom we found in her bed troubled with her old eomplaint, whieh had fallen into the side of her neck, and bereft her of the use of one of her hands. I deelared to her the doubt felt in consequence of her former praetiees, of her eorrupting underhand some bad members of the state; and that I was expressly commanded to take her money into my hands, and to remain answerable for the same, when required; advising her to deliver the said money to me quietly. After many denials, many exclamations, and many bitter words against you (I say nothing of her reviling against myself), with flat affirmation that her Majesty might have her body, but that her heart she should

never have. On her refusing to deliver the key of her cabinet, I called my servants, and sent for bars to break open the door, upon which she yielded. I found in the coffers five rolls of canvass containing five thousand French crowns, and two leather bags, one of which had in gold one hundred and four pounds, and two shillings; and the other, three pounds in silver. The bag of silver I left with her, as she declared she had no more money in the house, and that she was indebted to her servants their wages. Mr. Wade's note makes mention of three rolls left in Curle's chamber; but he must have misreckoned, as we found only two rolls, each containing two thousand crowns, which was this Queen's gift to Curle's wife at her marriage. In a cabinet, in Nau's chambers, there was found a gold chain estimated at one hundred pounds, and in money, nine hundred pounds in one bag, and in a second two hundred and fifty pounds, and in a silk purse, two hundred and eighty six pounds, and eighteen shillings. All the aforesaid parcels of money are placed in bags, and sealed by Mr. R. Bagot, saving five hundred pounds of Nau's money, which I reserve in my own hands for the use of the household, and which may be repaid in London, as her Majesty shall appoint. I feared that these people might have dispersed this money, or hid it in some secret corner. Doubting this, I caused all this Queen's family, from the highest to the lowest, to be guarded in the several places where I found them, so that if I had not found the money, I would have first searched their lodgings, and then their persons. I thank God, with all my heart, as for a singular blessing, that it has fallen out so well,

fearing lest a contrary result might have moved some hard conceit in her Majesty's mind.

As to the dispersing of this Queen's servants, I trust I have done as much as may suffice to satisfy her Majesty for the time; as I have not yet received your orders as to those that are to be dismissed. What I have done, is to shut up those mentioned in the list, in three or four different rooms, sufficient to contain them, and have ordered that they shall not leave their rooms, and that their meat and drink shall be brought them by my servants. You will be pleased to let me know in what manner, and for what course, I am to make out their passports, and what I am to do respecting those whose wages are unpaid. Her Majesty's charge will be somewhat diminished by the departure of those people, and my charge will become more easy; but the persons all, saving Bastian, are such simple souls, that there was not great cause to fear their practises.

Let others express their foolish pity as they may; as for myself, I renounce my part in the joys of heaven, if in any thing that I have said, written, or done, I have had any other respect than the furtherance of her Majesty's service, as I most earnestly pray you to affirm for me. No one of us thought that our commission reached only to the seizure of papers; we were bold to touch the money, though there was no speech of it to my knowledge, and as you know I was commissioner in the search, and had my hands full at Tixal. Discreet servants are not hasty to deal in great matters without warrant; but yet there are causes where delay carries danger.

Your notice of the remove [of this Queen] will

be very comfortable to me, I will not say in respect to myself and my private interest, for that has no measure of comparison with her Majesty's safety, and with the quiet of the realm. God grant a happy and speedy issue of those good counsels.

Your most assured poor friend,

A. PAULET.

From Chartley.

P. S. My servant repairing to my Lord Treasurer, according to your command, found his Lordship ready to enter his coach, on his way to Court. He said that he could not write, but commanded him to signify to me that I should prepare to remove with all speed, and that I should dispose all things for the safety of my charge. His Lordship thought you had written to me respecting this removal, whereas as yet I have heard nothing.

September 15.—BURGHLEY TO LEICESTER.

The Queen of Scots is likely to come to Fotheringay Castle on the 27th, and I think a number of the counsellors and others of the nobility will have commission, according to the late statute 27°, to hear and judge her cause there, so that in the next parliament, upon a new summons, the 15th of October, further measures may be taken to deal with that Queen according to her deserts. Your Lordship and I were very great motes in the traitors' eyes, for your Lordship there, and I here, were about one and the same time to have been killed. Of your Lordship they thought rather of poisoning than slaying. After we two were disposed of, they proposed her Majesty's death. But God, our defender,

has prevented their malice, and I hope will continue his favour to make void the relics of their malice.

From Windsor.

September 29.—MILDMAY TO BURGHLEY.

The day after I wrote to your Lordship, Sir Amias Paulet sent Mr. Darrell to me, who has diligently examined the state of Fotheringay Castle, and taken measures respecting the provisions. This morning he returned to Sir Amias to make report of what he had done. He will doubtless acquaint your Lordship of the same, and accordingly as you shall determine, I will be ready to do any thing that lies in me for the furtherance of her Majesty's service. I humbly commend your Lordship to the merciful protection of the Lord Almighty.

From Althorpe.

Among the "Burghley Papers," is a somewhat voluminous correspondence, purporting to be between Thomas Morgan, Charles Paget, and the Queen of Scots. We quote these letters with caution. They are stated to have been intercepted by the ministers of Elizabeth; but they are also believed to have been materially falsified for the purpose of entangling the Queen in Babington's conspiracy, which had been for some time concocting by the emissaries of Walsingham. Of this mode of falsification, Sir W. Scott has pointed out a remarkable instance. The letters of Paulet to the English ministers, of June and July, 1586, represent the Queen as a cripple, unable to move without support on each side, and yet in one of those suppositious letters of the same date, she is made to say; "By the grace of God I am not yet brought so low in health, but that I am able to handle my

cross-bow, for killing a deer, and to gallop after the hounds on horseback, as this afternoon I intend to do, within the limits of this park, and could otherwhere if it were permitted." Chalmers says confidently; "this letter the Queen of Scots could not have written;" and the same may doubtless, be said of many other parts of this correspondence. Several of the letters, however, bear internal evidence of their genuineness; and we give some extracts, which will throw a light upon the passing scenes of this eventful year.

Thomas Morgan, one of the most zealous, though not the most discreet of the adherents of Mary Stuart, was a native of Wales, and had received his education in Oxford. Mary made him one of her secretaries, and sent him into France, as commissioner to receive the proceeds of her French dowry; an office which he executed with great fidelity, availing himself of the facilities it afforded him of communicating to his royal mistress whatever he thought conducive to her interests.

In a letter to the Queen of Scots (June 15), he says:—I hear that your Majesty is to remove to the castle of Tutbury; under the guard of the Lord St. John. Let me beseech your Majesty to be of good comfort, and so by the power of God all will fall out for the best, whatever your adversaries design to the contrary, from whose malicious practices you have good reason to defend yourself. I was told that Liecester should say, that the book written against him tended all to your honour and his ruin, and therefore "he would provide hereafter;" meaning, by all conjecture, to extend his whole force to do your Majesty harm, which I hope in God will not lie in his power. . —We are informed of extreme laws

made in England this Parliament, for banishing all the Seminary priests.

In a postscript to a letter of the 10th of February, Morgan says: "Good Curle, I long to hear how you find the alteration of her Majesty's state, whereof I know you all are careful, and so it behooves you to be, and especially that good regard be had how her Majesty is served in regard to diet and drink. For if the adversaries continue their malice towards her Majesty—which should be carefully foreseen—it is by that means that they will practice their malice by poisoning her meat, and drink, or such things as shall be presented to her."

February 1*st.*—I have written to the Lord Harry Howard to have a special eye to your Majesty's service, for I understand he has convenient liberty, though he is ordered to live in Sir Nicholas Bacon's house. I have written to him, that he was fortunate many ways; but that, above all worldly good he was honoured by your favour and good conceit of him, and likely to gain more honour and contentment by performing that part towards you, which is due to your Majesty from all English hearts, and from those who love God and their country. I have not yet an answer from him, but so soon as I have, I shall advertise your Majesty. Since Leicester's departure for Holland, unless I am much deceived, Lord Harry will have good means to do your Majesty service. The Countess of Arundel is a very notable woman, and hath so shown herself by her constancy in the faith, and an honourable deportment in all things. She is disposed towards your Majesty as she ought to be, and surpasses in this troublesome world, all the men and women in the parts where she lives. She

would think herself happy to have occasion to serve and honour your Majesty, which she will be able to do with less suspicion than if she were a man. I am of opinion that your Majesty will do well to employ her, and to write to her to that effect. The said Countess hath good intelligence, as I am credibly informed, with the Lord Harry Howard, to whom she may convey your letter for him. The Earl of Arundel is now a sound Catholic, and his affliction, which followed shortly after his reconciliation to the Catholic church, has without doubt done him infinite good. The more I think of the Countess of Arundel, the more necessary I think it for your Majesty to enter into intelligence with her, considering her devotion to serve your Majesty, and her ability to do it many ways. As being one of the daughters, and heirs of the Lord Dacre of the north, by that means she has lands and tenants on the borders of Scotland, and many friends whom she will convert to serve your Majesty's turn for intelligence with Scotland. Your Majesty may therefore boldly apply to her for this and other good offices.

In my former letters I ventured to remind your Majesty to write to his Holiness, and discharge your obedience towards him; also to report the calamity and misery of that whole Island, and of the persecution of the Catholics, which you may alledge to be many, to encourage his Holiness to have special regard to that country. You may also inform him that, by the tyranny of your persecutors, all intelligence is stopped between your Majesty and your son, whereby you may alledge truly that you cannot work that good upon him, and in Scotland, that you desire and are bound to do. It will also be a work of honour and of great charity in your Majesty, if

you will also please to recommend to his Holiness' favourable protection and goodness, the English Seminary at Rheims, which, for want of necessary support, has been forced these months past to disperse; I mean a great number thereof, for though there be many dispersed, yet I hear there are six score together, and some relief they have had of late from the King and the city. Dr. Allen is in Rome to solicit more help for the Seminary, and will be in these parts in a short time. Your Majesty may also recommend to his Holiness the Scottish Seminary; and Dr. Lewis and Allen, as good servants to God and their country. Finally, may it please your Majesty to recommend to his Holiness' favour and protection the afflicted nation of England and Scotland generally, in banishment for their faith and conscience.

February 25th.—I have received news from Scotland, from Fontenay, who promises to return here very shortly. He tells me that it is a current report, that the King your son is to marry the Queen of England. God forbid that he should be so matched!

This idea appears to have been prevalent for a time. Writing to Mary, Fontenay says: "Sir Robert Melville and other counsellors of state have assured me that your son is treating through Gray, of a marriage with the Queen of England. He is persuaded to it by the Earl of Arran, as the best means of securing the crown of England, for, that as the Queen is old, he may, when it shall please heaven to take her, match afterwards where he pleases. Certain it is that he has written several love letters to the Queen, and has caused others to be written by Arran and Gray."

In a letter, in the Burghley papers, we learn that

James had addressed a love sonnet to the Queen, and complained of her indifference in taking no notice of his tender effusion; reminding her that Cupid was a divinity of most impatient disposition.

We are assured by Weldon that several of these tender letters passed between the royal parties, and that Sir Roger Aston, who had formerly been James's barber, was the bearer of the billets-doux. "When he came," says Weldon, "to deliver any letters from his master, he was placed in a lobby, where the hangings were drawn aside, that he might see the queen dancing to a little fiddle. This was for no end than that he should tell his master how youthful was her disposition." Elizabeth's fondness for dancing is well known. She retained her partiality for it to the last. Stanhope writes in 1598, "The Queen is so well, that I assure you six or seven galliards in a morning, besides music and singing, is her ordinary exercise." At the age of sixty-nine she condescended publicly to perform her part in a galliard, with the Duke of Nevers. Upon this subject Mr. Sharon Turner grows unusually grave: "O humbling vanity," he exclaims, "even in lofty minds! the intellectual Queen of England desiring to be esteemed a superior dancer! But if the most private and confidential feelings and habits of the greater spirits that shine in the world's eye and business, be unreservedly revealed to us, some accompanying weakness will always appear amid their impressive superiority, as long as human nature in its present form and bearing subsists."

March 1st.—The Queen of Scots says in a letter to Morgan;—Great changes have happened in all states abroad, the knowledge of which having been kept from me since my departure from Wingfield, I

can form no certain judgment, nor do I know what course in the world to take in my affairs, before I hear more from every quarter. I shall entertain those I have here the best I may, till my charge from home, which I look for before the end of this summer; and even then, I fear not a little, that all may fail me. Should this happen, there is no remedy, but to refer all to God.

My keeper is so extremely watchful over all here, that they scarcely dare look or speak to any of my people. I understand he [my Warden] is to be changed before Michaelmas next, and I pray God it may be so, for a worse, I think, is not to be found.

At Chartley.

June 5th.—In a letter to the Queen of Scots, Morgan says;—A report lately prevailed that your Majesty had departed this life, which God forbid! But since that, a friend of mine has written to me, that he saw a letter written by your warden, declaring that your Majesty was in tolerable health, which I pray God long to preserve. And yet, let such reports be so many cautions to your Majesty to look the better to yourself. To bolster up the league between that Queen and your son, a yearly pension is assured him by the Queen.

Your Majesty writes to me of some likelihood of your removal from the place where you are. If your Majesty may have some favour granted you for the choice of your place of residence, I would advise your Majesty not to go out of Staffordshire, which is altogether for your Majesty, and adjoining to many honourable personages devoutly affected to your service; yet wherever you go, you will, by

God's grace, find servants and service, though every change brings some alteration, and requires some time to settle servants and service anew. It was told me, that your Majesty was to have come to Mr. John Gifford's house, in Staffordshire, for that himself is commanded to live about London. The house is not so good for your Majesty as I wish it was, but the incommodity one way will be requited by some honest service that you may there expect by the said Gifford and his friends.

July 4th.—Your Majesty's manifold graces and favours shown to me, which I humbly acknowledge, tend to keep me in life, and will lengthen the same to serve and honour your Majesty. Pietro thought himself much honoured by the assurance I gave him of your Majesty's favour. I have given him especial charge to pay vigilant attention to any alteration that may happen in that state, which, by many means is expected, or to any change that may take place in your regard, by the death or change of your host, who, I hear, is full of the gout, though he may live long,—perhaps too long, notwithstanding that malady.—There is great appearance that God will bless the Earl of Arundel and his family, seeing they dispose themselves to serve and honour God, and to stand for the defence of his cause. I have procured Gratley (mentioned in my former letters as the means under God to reconcile the said Earl to his religion) to give Pietro special credit with the Countess of Arundel, and the sister of the said Earl, who is a devout gentlewoman, and married to the Lord Buckhurst's son and heir. This I thought good to provide, to the end that if your Majesty have cause to send to the said Countess hereafter, Pietro may the better serve your turn, though the

good conceit of his own family is sufficient to give him credit with the best in the realm; though naturally they are very jealous one of another, and the tyranny of the time has increased the same. As I have already said, the Countess of Arundel is a fit instrument to settle your Majesty's intelligence upon the borders of Scotland, and to maintain the same with more security and less charge than in that realm, Northumberland excepted, who is not yet to be employed.—The Earl of Arundel was of late condemned to pay *her* £30,000, and to live in prison during her pleasure.

July 20.—I have heard that your Majesty is to be removed to Tutbury, and that Sir Amias Paulet is to attend upon your Majesty, whereupon I wrote forthwith to Mr. Christopher Blount, to have especial respect to the honour and service of your Majesty. Since then, I have heard that he has been about Tutbury, to view the state of the country and of the people thereabouts, and to frame intelligence with your Majesty, wherein he said he would labour though it cost him his life, declaring that he was bound to serve and honour the only saint that he knows living upon earth.—This Blount is a tall gentleman, and valiant, and has been well brought up by his careful and devout parents, who are good Catholics. He is of an ancient house, and his father, who was kin to Leicester, honoured him much, but ungratefully requited him in the end. Yet, as Leicester is a great tyrant in the realm, where Catholics are so plagued, this Blount and his elder brother being both Catholics, and their mother a notable honest gentlewoman, they are all forced, to their great charges, to fawn upon Leicester, to see if thereby they may live quiet, and not be con-

tinually troubled for their faith and consciences. By Leicester's means they have been more quietly handled than some others, and this is the reason they have at this time followed Leicester, who, God knows, hath been chargeable to them: for Leicester is not born to good to God's people.

He adds in a postscript;—Good Curle, I humbly salute you, and pray you ever to retain me in your good grace, and I desire Monsieur Nau to do the like, and I shall pray for you both, as I hope you do for me daily. The taking off the Earl of Northumberland is an argument that they have further mischief in hand, and therefore you have need all to look well to the person of her Majesty, and to all things also, whatsoever shall be presented for her person or service. I hear that Dr. Atslowe was racked twice, almost to death, in the Tower, about the Earl of Arundel's matters and intention to depart England, wherein he was betrayed, and is now in danger of his life thereby. He is in the tower, with one of his uncles. God help them all!

July 27th.—In a letter from the Queen of Scots to Morgan, she says:—

I pray you, continue to give me notice from time to time of every occurrence that may come to your knowledge; and in your next especially tell me what you mean in your last by advising me to ask Sir Gervaise Clifton's consent in bestowing Bessy Pierpont in marriage, whom I have never sought to bestow on any, neither before nor since I caused the same to be proposed, at the Countess of Shrewsbury's solicitation, to the Lord Percy, now Earl of Northumberland, whereof I think you have heard; nor have I had any intention for any other; but rather contrariwise I have made suit to the Queen of

England, this half year or more, to be rid of her, because she is now at her best, brought up as my bed-fellow and at board ever since she was four years of age, as carefully and virtuously, I trust, as if she had been my own daughter. Now, my own means failing to have her suitably preferred, let her own parents, for discharge of my conscience and my honourable using of her, relieve me of her loss of time and other inconveniences. After I had offered her to serve about the Queen of England, and it was not granted, now on a sudden, they would have her from me. This I cannot consent to, such an honest *furniture* [out-fit] as then I had in hand for her departure not being yet ready. Such things cannot be done at an hour's warning. But to be plain with you, I would rather be quit of her, as I see too much of her grandmother's nature in her behaviour every way, notwithstanding all my pains to the contrary, and therefore now I should be sorry to have her bestowed upon any man to whom I wish well. Let me hear, as I have said, plainly and particularly what you have understood or heard thereupon.

July 30th.—THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE COUNTESS OF ARUNDEL.*

RIGHT TRULY AND WELL BELOVED COUSIN,—We have been informed of your injuries and afflictions,

* She was the sister and coheir of Thomas, last Lord Daere, and married Philip Earl of Arundel, eldest son of the late Duke of Norfolk, whose melancholy fate, as connected with his purposed marriage to the Queen of Scots, we have recorded above. The countess was a person of great piety and no mean talent. Many of her letters to her children, for whom she seems to have had the most affectionate regard, are

no doubt much increased by those that have happened to your husband, who is so dear to us; nor should we have been the last to signify the same to you, had an opportunity presented, of which we have most unworthily and wrongfully been deprived. We have felt great grief on the one side from your afflictions, and comfort on the other to understand the godly constancy in both of you, for the defence of our faith and religion, a matter for all good Christians to hold in precious remembrance. You have been lights of faith and honour to guide the weaker brethren, and to recover others by your godly example, who, through malice or ignorance, have declined from our faith. You may see how by too much lenity and remissness in the beginning, on the part of some of the principals of this realm, to what a sad length things have proceeded, to our no

preserved among the Howard papers, and are written, says Mr. Lodge, in the best style of that time, and in a strain of unaffected piety and tenderness which lets us at once into her character. She died April 13, 1630, at the age of seventy two, and was buried at Arundel.

For several years, Father Southwell, the well known poet, and delightful author of the "Epistle of comfort to the suffering Catholics," was domestic chaplain to the Countess. The following tribute to her virtues is from his pen. "By birth she was second to none but the first in the realm, yet she measured greatness by goodness alone, making nobility the mirror of virtue, by which all eyes were drawn to behold it. She suited her behaviour to her birth, and ennobled her birth by her piety; leaving her house more beholden to her for having honoured it by the glory of her virtues, than she was to it for her titles and degree. She was high-minded in nothing but in aspiring to perfection, and in the disdain of vice; in other things she had the grace to veil her greatness by humility among her inferiors, and to set it off with courtesy among her peers."

small grief, by allowing heresy to take so deep root, and grow by continuance to such a height as is most lamentable to behold, and which should move us all the more instantly to discharge our duty in this quarrel. We have long since thought within ourselves of the afflicted state of you both, and considered by what labour of ours we might procure the liberty of your good husband. But, on the one side, the great jealousy of this state, and the promptitude of the same to interpret our actions for the worst, as well as the want of intelligence with you both, have prevented us all this while from putting any thing in execution for the advancement of your cause, lest from zeal to do good, we might have committed some error, and rather have put your case backward than forward; and so, it is necessary we understand from yourself your state, and the hope you conceive of repairing it, whereunto our labours shall not be wanting, but be most ready when the same may honour and profit you both.—You may easily conjecture, that it is no small grief to us, that our only son is, by the malice of the time and the wicked practises of some instruments, led to be so backward in matters of his own salvation, and for the consolation of this whole Isle. In which points, as we never omitted the duty of a good mother, when we could recover time so to do, being sequestered from him from his nativity, so shall we never desist hereafter to do him good offices, though the labours of the enemies of God and of this Isle tend to break all intelligence between us, and to divide us with *practises* [intrigues]. How horrible these practises are, both in the sight of God and all good Christian people, we refer to God and all the Christian world, who learn and see the same, as well as

infinite other injuries continually practised against us.—You will receive some letters enclosed, which are to be delivered in Scotland to some good servants of ours, wherein we pray you to give us leave to employ your care and labours to so good a work; and that, by means of your friends and servants upon the borders, this service, grateful to God and us, may be settled and continued secretly by your care, which you know to be requisite at this time.—You will also receive herewith a letter to my Lord Harry Howard, which we pray you likewise may be well delivered. We have also written herewith a few lines to the Lady Cobham, which we likewise desire to be delivered to her; and we pray him further to buy for us of the best silks or velvets that you can find, as much as will serve to make her a couple of gowns, to wear for our sake. Yet because we would be very loath to commit an error, which may easily be in such a jealous time, and not knowing on what terms of friendship you stand with the Lady Cobham, we leave you to use your own discretion for the delivery of the said letter and silks; though perhaps, our service may be someway advanced by the delivery of the same; but, as we said, we remit this matter to your discretion, and to your experience of her and of the time.—Of which charge, as well as of your state, and that of your husband, we desire to be informed by means of the French ambassador, from whom you will receive these our letters. We recommend him and his wife much unto you, as personages of honour, and to us well-disposed, for which consideration we know that you will respect them the more. When you shall receive answers to our said letters out of Scotland, which must come by the care of such

trusty servants and friends as you shall appoint to this charge, we pray you to send us the same, and all others, by means of the French ambassador, whereby they shall come to our hands by God's grace, to whom we commit both yourself and your husband, with all good affection.

Your very good Cousin and friend for ever,

MARIE R.

Another of Mary's correspondents was Charles Paget. He was a superior man to Morgan, and shows much good sense in the counsels he gives to his royal mistress. Take the following as a specimen.

"I have diverse times counselled your Majesty, and I still beg leave to remind you, that you are to take care that every man at his will and pleasure do not intrude on princes and their ministers in your affairs, without your commission and direction. That, in truth, is against the Majesty of your person, which by the honest and religious is as much to be respected, as if you were in the greatest prosperity in the world. But this every one here doth not do; besides the disobedience shown therein by those lewd and ambitious persons who do the contrary, and who take advantage of your adversity,—for otherwise they durst not do it, breed infinite contention and hindrance to your affairs. To remedy this, my opinion is, that, in Spain, France, the Low Countries, Scotland, and Rome, you appoint certain persons, and give a special charge that they concur together in all matters tending to your Majesty's service, and yourself to give credit with the Princes and their ministers where they abide, that these be the persons you name, and whom you would have

them use in your service. And if, notwithstanding this, others will make themselves busy, that it be pronounced to be without your consent. By this means, such as have authority from you will bridle all such idle heads as would be dealing without all due respect, would preserve the dignity and obedience due to your Majesty, and manage your affairs with far greater secrecy and expedition, than they have been.*

The Queen of Scots says in reply;—Your remonstrance to commit to few the managing of my affairs pleases me right well, and I am accordingly determined not to entertain from henceforth any ordinary intelligence with any man, except with those whom I will depute in every province; to wit, besides my ambassador, yourself, and Morgan for France; yet will I not that my ambassador meddle with the affairs of this side, further than I shall commit to him to treat. For Spain, the Lord Paget, and Sir Francis Englefield, my ordinary agent; for Rome, Dr. Lewis, if he will accept the charge; for the Low Countries, Liggons; for Scotland, the Lord Claude Hamilton, and Courcelles, that was with Mauvissiere, for conducting my packets on this side. If it should happen that Morgan be constrained to leave France,—which I shall by all the means I can seek to stop, my intention is to appoint him to Rome. I cannot but praise you for the testimony you give me of his fidelity, and I can assure you he has deserved no less at your hands.

* It is deeply to be regretted that this admirable project of Paget had not been carried into effect. It would have been the most effectual means of preventing the unfortunate occurrences that immediately followed, and which the sagacity of this able friend of Mary appears to have anticipated.

In another letter to Paget, Mary says :—I should think myself most obliged to that King [the King of France], if it would please him to receive my son, and cause him to be instructed in the Catholic religion ; this is the thing in the world I most desire, affecting a great deal rather the salvation of his soul, than to see him monarch of all Europe. I fear much, that so long as he remains where he is (among those who form all his greatness upon the maintenance of the religion he professes), it will never be in my power to bring him again into the right way ; whereby there shall remain in my heart a thousand regrets and apprehensions if I shall die, to leave behind me a tyrant and persecutor of the Catholic church.

From Chartley, August 25.

How far these prophetic fears of a mother's heart were realized, is but too familiarly known to every reader of the ignoble and persecuting reign of her pedant son ; in whose panegyric it was thought sufficient praise to declare, that "scarce any monarch had ever quitted the world less deplored by his subjects, than James the First."

CHAPTER X.

MARY OF SCOTS IN FOTHERINGAY CASTLE.

1586.—ÆTAT. 44.—FROM SEPTEMBER 30, TO DECEMBER 31.

Journal of Paulet continued—Mary is removed from Chartley to Fotheringay Castle—Trial of the Queen of Scots.—Treachery of Burghley—Condemnation of the Queen—Sir Drue Drury is associated with Paulet—Conduct of James, and treachery of his minister, Gray.

THE misfortunes of Mary Stuart were at length drawing to a close. On the 25th of September, she entered the fatal gates of Fotheringay Castle, which closed upon her for ever.

Here she was more strictly watched than ever, and Paulet, a being at no time "used to the melting mood," became doubly severe. He was a stern presbyterian, and he had taught himself to regard the Queen of Scots in the double light of an enemy to the laws and to the religion of the land.

We quote Mackintosh:—"At Fotheringay, Mary had continued ignorant of the storm already gathered above her head. The council of Elizabeth meantime had been deliberating what should be her doom. Some would have her committed to closer confine-

ment, which, with her bodily infirmities, would soon destroy her; others would have her despatched by poison. The recommendation of poison is ascribed to Leicester, and the practice was generally supposed familiar to him. This minion of Elizabeth, who combined the want of capacity, courage, and every virtue, with an utter profligacy of life, affected Puritanism, and employed in his letters the scriptural vocabulary and tone of that sect. Finding Walsingham averse to the use of poison, he sent a divine to satisfy him of its Christian lawfulness. Both the slow torture of close confinement, and the quick despatch by poison, were abandoned; and it was resolved to proceed against her by criminal trial."

In the meantime, Mary's secretaries had been conveyed to London, where partly by promises, and partly by threats of the torture, enough was extorted from them to serve the main purposes of the ministers of Elizabeth, which was to implicate the Queen of Scots in the secret conspiracy.

The following letter shows the state of Mary's feelings at this critical moment.

October 5th.—Mary to the Duke of Guise.

My good Cousin,—If God, and you after him, do not find means to succour your poor cousin now, all is over. This bearer will tell you how I am treated by all, even by my two Secretaries. For God's sake assist them, and save them if you can. They are to accuse me of a design to trouble the state, and of having laid plots against the Queen, or, at least, of having consented to them. I have declared what is true, that I know not what the matter in

hand is. They say they have seized certain letters of mine to one Babington, and to Charles Paget and his brother, which prove this conspiracy; and that Nau and Curle have acknowledged to it. I declare they can do no such thing; except they force them by the torture to declare more than they know. This is all they have told me about the matter. But I know by means of letters, that they threaten you much, you and your league, and are strengthening their party by means of certain princes who will tolerate their religion. I have declared to them, that, as to myself, I am resolved to die in mine, as she [Elizabeth] protested she would do for the Protestant. Whatever, therefore, you may hear, my good cousin, by these disseminators of false reports, assure yourself, that, by the grace of God, I will die in the Catholic faith, and in firmly maintaining its cause. The House of Lorraine know what it is to pour forth their blood for the faith, and I will not dishonour that house. Cause prayers to be offered for me to Almighty God; have my poor remains, when brought from hence, interred in holy ground, and have compassion on my poor destitute servants, for they have robbed me of every thing here, and I lay my account to be despatched with poison, or some other such secret death. But although I am become nearly maimed by their bad treatment, my right hand since this late event having so swollen and become so painful, that I can scarcely hold the pen or assist myself to my food; yet, my courage shall not fail me; in the hope that He, who has made me what I am, will give me grace to die in his cause. This is the only honor I desire in this world, in order to obtain the mercy of God in another. It is my desire that my body may

be buried at Rheims, by the side of my late good mother; and my heart beside the late King, my Lord. Farther particulars you may hear from the bearer of this. Should it appear, that, at the present time, there is any wish to see me restored, and to avenge my cause—which indeed is the common cause, I should think it very wonderful, for to me every thing on this point seems doubtful and wavering. Adieu, my good cousin; communicate the contents of this to my ambassador. If my son does not concur now in avenging his mother, then I give him wholly up; and I beg that you and all my relations, will do the same.

Your good cousin,

From Fotheringay. MARIE R.

Oct. 6th.—ELIZABETH TO MARY.

"Whereas we are given to understand that you, to our great and inexpressible grief (as one void of all remorse of conscience) pretend with great professions not to be in any sort privy or assenting to any attempt against our state or person; forasmuch as we find, by clear and most evident proof, that the contrary will be verified and maintained against you, we have found it therefore expedient to send unto you divers of the chief and most ancient noblemen of this our realm, together with certain of our privy council, as also some of our principal judges, to charge you both with the privity and assent to that most horrible and unnatural attempt. And to the end you may have no just cause (living as you do within our protection, and therefore subject to the laws of our realm, and to such a trial as by us shall be thought most agreeable to our laws,) to take exception to the manner of our proceeding, we have made choice of the chief honourable persons

to be used in this service; having for that purpose authorized them by our commission under our great seal to proceed therein. And therefore we do both require and advise you to give credit and make answer to that which the said honourable persons, so authorized by us, shall from time to time, during their abode there, object or deliver unto you in our name, as if it were ourself."

On the 11th of October, the Commissioners had all arrived at Fotheringay castle, and the following day Sir Walter Mildmay and Sir Amias Paulet were sent to deliver the Queen of England's letter. When she had read it, she replied with great dignity and composure: "It grieves me that the Queen, my sister, is misinformed in my regard; and that I, having been so many years straightly kept in prison, and become disabled in my limbs, having been suffered to lie neglected, after offering so many reasonable conditions for my liberty. Though I have forewarned her of many dangers, yet has no credit been given me; I have been always contemned, though most nearly allied to her by blood. When the Association was entered into, and the act of Parliament thereupon made, I foresaw that whatever danger should happen either from foreign princes, or ill-disposed persons at home, or for religion's sake, I must bear the whole blame, having many mortal enemies in the court. I might also well take it hardly to heart, that a confederacy had been made with my son, without my knowledge; but this I omit. As for this letter, it seems strange to me, that the Queen should command me as a subject to appear personally in judgment. I am an independent Queen, and will do nothing which may prejudice either the majesty of my own rank and station, that of princes

of my own degree and standing, or that of my son. My mind is not yet dejected, neither am I wholly sunk under calamity. I refer to those things against which I have before protested, in the presence of Bromley the Chancellor, and the Lord Leware. Of the Laws and Statutes of England I am in a great measure ignorant; I am destitute of counsellors, and utterly ignorant as to who are to be my peers. My papers and notes have been taken from me, and no man dares step forward to be my advocate. I am clear from all crime against the Queen; I have excited no man against her; and I am not to be charged but by my own word or writing, and such cannot be produced against me. Yet do I not deny but I have commended myself and my cause to foreign princes.

The following day, the same commissioners returned with her answer of the previous day drawn out in writing. When she had heard it read, she approved of the same, and said she persisted therein. One thing, she observed, I had forgotten, and which I wish to have added; that, Whereas the Queen has written that I am subject to the laws of England, and to be judged by them, because I have lived under the protection of the same; I answer, that I came into England to crave aid, and ever since have been detained in prison, and could not enjoy the protection or benefit of the laws of England; nay, I could never yet understand from any man, what manner of laws they were."*

* There is in this observation equal justice and finesse. The Queen of Scots had scarcely known any other law in England than the despotic hatred of Elizabeth.

Mackintosh.

In the afternoon came the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treasurer, showed the patent of their authority, and endeavoured to prove that her prerogative of royalty could not exempt her from answering in this kingdom. They added many fair words, advising her to hear the matters to be objected against her, and concluded with a threat, that, on her refusal, they would proceed against her, as though she were absent. She persisted in answering, that she was no subject, and would rather die than acknowledge herself such, to the prejudice of her royal dignity. That to acknowledge this, would be to confess herself bound by the laws of England, even in matter of religion. In one place she was ready to answer to every charge brought against her, and that was in a free and full parliament. As to the present commission, she looked upon it as no other than a prejudging of her cause, in order to give it some show and colour of a just and legal proceeding. She warned them, therefore, to look into their consciences, and to recollect, that the theatre of the world was wider than the Kingdom of England." She added, that there were several things in the Queen's letter, which she had only noted confusedly, and by snatches, and which she wished delivered to her in writing; for surely you think not, said she, that it stands with the dignity of royalty to play the scrivener. Among other things, she said she did not understand the sense of these words, "seeing she is under the Queen's protection."

The Lord Chancellor answered, that it was not for subjects to interpret what the Queen's meaning was, nor were they appointed commissioners for that purpose.

During three whole days did Mary hold at bay

these bloodhounds of the law. When told by the Lord Treasurer, that they would proceed on the morrow in the cause, as though she were absent and continued contumacious; she replied with a dignity that, for a moment, awed into respect these minions of a tyrannical Queen; "Examine your consciences, my Lords; look to your honour: God will reward you and yours for your judgment against me."

The next day, she sent for certain of the commissioners, demanding that her protestation might be admitted. It was then that the Vice-Chamberlain Hatton, addressed her in an artful speech, prepared for the occasion. You are accused, said he, of conspiring against our Lady and Queen anointed; you are accused, but remember that you are not condemned. You say you are a Queen; be it so. But, in a case like this, the royal dignity is not exempted from answering, either by the civil or canon law, nor by the law of nations, or of nature. If you be innocent, you wrong your reputation in avoiding a trial. You protest yourself innocent, but Queen Elizabeth thinks otherwise, and that not without grief and sorrow for the same. To examine therefore your innocency, she has appointed Commissioners, most honourable, prudent, and upright men, who are ready to hear you according to equity, with favour, and will rejoice with all their hearts, if you shall clear yourself of this crime. Believe me, the Queen herself will be touched with the greatest joy. She affirmed to me on my leaving her, that never had any thing more grievous befallen her, than that you were charged with such a crime. Wherefore, lay aside the bootless privilege of royal dignity, which can now be of no use to you; appear in judgment and show your innocency, lest by avoid-

ing a trial, you draw upon yourself suspicion, and lay upon your reputation an eternal blot and aspersion.

Hatton's sophistry prevailed, and, in evil hour, she consented to plead for the sake of protecting her honour and her reputation,—an unwise and fatal concession.

October 11.—In a letter of this same date, from Burghley to Sir Edward Stafford, the ambassador in France, he says; "I was never more toiled than I have been of late, and still am. Services here daily multiply, and escape who may, I am never spared. God give me his grace!" With this cant of piety upon his lips, he was at the same moment perpetrating an act of atrocious injustice to the helpless prisoner of Fotheringay. He wrote and circulated among the commissioners and others, "A note of the indignities and wrongs, done and offered by the Queen of Scots, to the Queen's Majesty," forgetting at the same time to mention the indignities and wrongs done and committed by the Queen's Majesty to the Scottish Queen. In private litigations to solicit judges and tamper with justice, is held to be infamous. Here was an extraordinary court assembled for trying for her life a Queen who had fled to the country to claim hospitality and protection. And it was such a moment as this, that the minister of a great queen selected for producing his note of wrongs and injuries effected by the Scottish Queen, previous to her coming into England, nay, previous to her leaving France! A copy of the paper still exists in Burghley's hand-writing,—a damning proof how small a creature the minister was, amidst all the efforts of his mistress to make him a great man. "No pettifogging attorney,"

says Sir James Mackintosh, "could employ falsehood and sophistry with more license than this statesman, acting in the sacred character of a judge." Another keen observer of men, remarks, that "the sum and substance of Burghley's political creed was,—that every thing convenient is lawful." It had been honorable to the memory of this statesman, had he respected that axiom of a contemporary patriot, that "what is morally wrong, can never be politically right."*

On the 14th of October, the trial commenced. The great hall of Fotheringay Castle had been prepared for the occasion. The upper part of it was railed off, and at the extremity was an elevation, with a chair of state under a canopy, for the Queen of England. On both sides of the room places were prepared for the Lords of the commission, which consisted of fourteen Earls, thirteen Barons, and the Knights and members of the Privy Council. In the centre was a table at which sat the Lord Chief Justice, several doctors of the civil law, and Popham, the Queen's attorney-general, with an array of solicitors, sergeants, and notaries. At the foot of this table, and immediately opposite the chair of state introduced for Elizabeth, a chair without any canopy was placed for the Queen of Scots. Behind was the rail which ran across the hall, parting off a space for persons who were not in the Commission.

All the authorities had taken their respective

* The treachery of Burghley's nature is notorious. Though he is one of Miss Aiken's heroes, she is compelled to acknowledge that "he deserted his earliest patron, the Protector Somerset, on a change of fortune, and is even said [nay, is known] to have drawn the articles of impeachment against him."

places. A stir was in the hall. Those who had crowded round the entrance fell back, and Mary Stuart made her appearance. She was dressed in deep mourning, round her neck was a crucifix of gold, and her train was supported by two pages. With a firm step she advanced up the hall to the seat prepared for her. A glance of her eye recognized the distinction made in the royal canopy over the chair of Elizabeth, and its absence over her own, and a faint smile of mingled scorn and pity played upon her lip. Gazing with dignified composure upon the array of law and talent that lined both sides of the hall, she calmly observed;—"I have before me many learned in the law, but I see none here for me." After a moment's pause, during which the conviction of her isolated and unbefriended situation seemed to flash upon her mind, and arouse all the native energies of her spirit, she took her seat.

There was never, perhaps, says one of Mary's biographers, an occasion throughout the whole life of Mary Stuart in which she appeared to greater advantage than this. In the presence of all the pomp, learning, and talent of England, she stood alone and undaunted; evincing, in the modest dignity of her bearing, a mind conscious of its own integrity, and superior to the malice of fortune. Elizabeth's craftiest lawyers and ablest politicians were assembled to probe her to the quick,—to press home every argument against her which ingenuity could devise and eloquence embellish,—to dazzle her with a blaze of erudition, or involve her in a maze of technical perplexities. Mary had no counsellor—no adviser—no friend. Her very papers to which she might have wished to refer had been taken from

her; and there was not one to plead her cause, or defend her innocence. Yet was she not dismayed. She knew that she had a higher judge than Elizabeth; and that great as was the array of lords and barons that appeared against her, posterity was greater than they, and that to its decision all things would be finally referred. Her bodily infirmities imparted only a greater lustre to her mental pre-eminence; and not in all the fascinating splendour of her youth and beauty—not on the morning of her first bridal day, when Paris rang with acclamations in her praise—was Mary Stuart so much to be admired, as when, weak and worn out, she stood calmly before the myrmidons of a rival queen, to hear and refute their unjust accusations, her eye radiant once more with the brilliancy of earlier years, and the placid benignity of a serene conscience lending to her countenance its undying grace.

When silence had been proclaimed, the Lord Chancellor thus addressed the Queen of Scots; "The most high and mighty Queen, Elizabeth, being, not without great grief of mind, informed that you have conspired the destruction of her and of England, and the subversion of religion, hath, out of her office and duty, and lest she might seem to neglect God, herself, and her people, and out of no malice whatever, appointed these commissioners to hear the matters that shall be objected against you, and how you can clear yourself of them, and make known your innocency."

The Queen of Scots then rose. She surveyed the assembled Lords with that dignity which had adorned the twofold throne of France and Scotland; her eye had lost none of its lustre, nor her cheek aught of her beauty to those who reflected in what

cause its lustre had been dimmed. Among the judges who sat marshalled before her, she saw the most distinguished nobles of the land, all the friends and adherents,—not to say sycophants of her mighty rival; men, who, for years, had sought her death in the council, clamoured for it in parliament, or devised it in the more insidious but surer device of the Association. In presence of this formidable array did she stand, 'a single and friendless female, ignorant of law, unpractised in judicial forms, without papers, or witnesses, or counsel, and with no other knowledge of the late transactions than could be collected within the jealously-guarded walls of her prison, or of the proofs to be adduced by her adversaries, than her own conjectures might afford?' And yet in such a presence and under such disadvantages, not for a single moment did her spirit quail. She spoke: "I came into England, my Lords, to crave aid from your Queen. She had promised it to me: but not only has she not kept that promise, but here have I been unjustly retained as a prisoner, above eighteen years. I here solemnly protest that I was no subject of the Queen of England; I have been, and am, an independent and absolute Queen, not to be constrained to appear before commissioners, or any other judge whatever, save before God alone, the judge of all. Were I to admit the right and jurisdiction claimed over me, I should derogate from the majesty of my rank and station, and prejudice the King of Scots my son, my successors, and the honour of princes in general. Be it, therefore, fully understood, that the whole and sole object of my now appearing personally before you, is with a view to refute the calumnies and crimes invented and objected against me. De-

prived of any friend, supporter, or legal adviser, I have no other resource than to pray my own attendants to bear witness in my behalf."

When she resumed her seat, a statement was made of Babington's conspiracy. The disclosures seemed to surprise her, but she lost nothing of her usual self-possession. She denied all connexion with this man, in so far as he entertained any designs injurious to the safety of the Queen of England. After the reading of the alledged treasonable correspondence, she demanded copies of the same. She did not deny that the letters which Babington was said to have addressed to her might be genuine: but it had not been proved that she ever received them. She maintained that what were said to be her own letters were all garbled or fabricated; they might have been conferred in the cyphers she usually employed, and which had been forcibly taken from her.* As to the confessions of her secretaries, they had been extorted by fear of the rack, and were therefore not to be credited; that if they were, in any particulars true, those particulars must have been disclosed at the expense of the oath of fidelity they had come under to her when they entered her ser-

* In one of these letters it is stated that "her Majesty is to hold no intelligence with him [Babington], nor any of them, for fear he or his partners should be discovered, and through the rack or other accidents, should discover your Majesty to have intelligence with them." On this Sir James Mackintosh justly observes; "this passage goes strongly to negative the case brought forward by Walsingham and Cecil. Is it credible, that, with this systematic design of the conspirators to hold no communication with Mary which might compromise her, Babington should yet write her gratuitously (for she could not cooperate) a minute account of the conspiracy, which proved so convenient to her accusers and enemies?"

vice, and that men who would perjure themselves in one instance, were not to be trusted in any. She objected besides that they had not been confronted with her, according to an express law which, she had learned, had been enacted in the reign of the present sovereign of England, "that no person should be arraigned for intending the destruction of the prince's life, but on the testimony and oath of two lawful witnesses, *to be produced face to face before the accused.*"* She added, that, if her notes and papers, which had been taken from her, were at hand, she could answer particularly to many things.

When in the course of the different letters read, the names of the Earl of Arundel and his brothers were mentioned, the Queen burst at once into tears, exclaiming; "Alas! what has not the noble house of Howard suffered for my sake!" What is this spontaneous action, but the voice of nature herself,

* It is impossible to conceive that Elizabeth's ministers could have neglected to bring Nau and Curle to support their testimony openly in the presence of their mistress, even though she herself had not required it, had they not been conscious that these poor intimidated and bribed secretaries could never stand her examination without overwhelming themselves and their seducers with utter confusion.

Dr. Milner, Letters to Sturges, p. 203.

It is plain, that, to unravel the mystery that hung about these letters, Nau and Curle should have been confronted with the Queen. For that purpose Elizabeth had ordered them to attend; Mary required them to be produced: and yet the minister kept them back. Does not this furnish a strong presumption in favour of the Queen of Scots? There was something in the business, which Walsingham was conscious would not bear the light.—*Dr. Lingard.*

declaring that the letter was new to the Queen of Scots?

As to her Catholic brethren in England, she had understood how hardly they had been treated, and had besought the Queen by letters to take pity on them. It was natural that such persons should feel interested in her welfare. She did not affect to deny that she had used her best endeavours for the recovery of her liberty, which nature itself allows, and had solicited her friends to deliver her. But that, much as she may have desired to avert the storm of persecution from the Catholics, and earnest as her suit had been to the Queen in their behalf, yet she would disdain to purchase a kingdom with the death of the meanest individual, much less of the Queen of England. She spoke of the ease with which cyphers could be counterfeited, and threw out more than a hint that Walsingham had employed such treacherous means to ruin her. She protested that she had not so much as dreamed of the destruction of the Queen; and that she had rather sacrifice her life, than that Catholics should be so afflicted for her account, and become objects of so much hatred. And here she shed abundance of tears. When Walsingham betrayed much warmth in his own justification, she answered that she was satisfied, praying him not to be angry, as she had spoken freely what she had heard repeated. When her correspondence with the See of Rome was objected to her: she denied not but she had written letters to the Holy Father; and among other things that she had recommended some bishops to the dignity of cardinal; and this without offence, she trusted; for that surely it was as lawful for her to have intercourse of letters, and to negociate her affairs with

persons of her faith, as the Queen of England with the professors of another religion.

On the following day, she renewed her former protestation. She considered herself as unworthily dealt with; her honor and reputation had been called in question before foreign lawyers, whose ingenuity wrested every miserable circumstance into a conclusion. The cause was so handled and letters had been so perverted, that the religion which she professed, the immunity and majesty of princes, and the private intercourse of crowned heads were called in question, and she herself made to descend below her dignity of royalty, and to appear as a guilty party before a tribunal incompetent to judge her; whereas, if she had condescended to appear there, it was voluntarily, to clear herself of matters objected against her, lest she might seem to have neglected the defence of her own honour and innocency. She wished the safety of the Catholics might be provided for, yet would she not have it effected by the death of the meanest of mankind. For her part, she was more ambitious to play the part of a Hester than a Judith, and would not purchase the good of God's people with the smallest drop of human blood.*

* On the subject of the attempt upon the life of Elizabeth, Mary continued to her last breath to speak with the utmost horror. The detestation of the deed expressed in her confidential letters, and to persons who, for a long series of years, had enjoyed the most unreserved confidence of her heart, will have great weight with every impartial mind. But the most conclusive argument of her innocence will still be that drawn from the natural mildness of her own character, and from that warm and lively sense of religion, which must have guarded her heart against even the temptation to so horrid a deed.

When the Lord Treasurer made an ingenious distinction between his twofold character as commissioner and counsellor, and availed himself of his privilege in the latter capacity, to attempt to browbeat the Queen, she exclaimed; "Ah! you are my adversary." "Yes, said he, I am adversary of Queen Elizabeth's adversaries. But enough of this; let us proceed to proofs." When she refused to listen to any thing more, "Yet we, said he, will hear these proofs." "And so will I also," retorted the Queen, "listen to them in a suitable place; and there shall I know how to defend myself."

Among other things, it was objected to her, that Cardinal Allen, in his letters, had called her his most dread Sovereign. Well, said she, and as for the Cardinal, I hold him to be a reverend prelate. In what rank and place I am esteemed by him, as by foreign prelates, I know not; but can I hinder it, if they choose to call me Queen.

When the proceedings of the Court had closed, she said; as all my hope in England is now grown desperate, I am fully resolved not to reject foreign aid for my deliverance. Still, added she, I am willing to be heard in a full parliament, and it is my request that a personal interview may be allowed me with the Queen of England. These requests were all refused her. She then rose with perfect composure, conversed for some moments apart with Burghley, Hatton, Walsingham, and the Earl of Warwick, with all the unaffected ease of a Queen in her own drawing-room, and then making them a graceful reverence, retired.

In following the Queen of Scots through the three days of this arduous trial, we may well exclaim with Bishop Milner: "How admirably did the con-

scious rectitude and native powers of Mary's mind, support her under every difficulty, and enable her to make a defence which still stands an invincible monument of her innocence and her characteristic virtues." Sir James Mackintosh is equally warm in his expressions. "It is impossible to read without admiration, in the minute records of this trial, the self-possessed, prompt, clear, and sagacious replies and remarks by which this forlorn woman defended herself against the most expert lawyers and politicians of the age; who, instead of examining her as judges, pressed her with the unscrupulous ingenuity of enemies." In another place, he says: "There are few judiciary proceedings so suspicious, and it may be said, so tainted, as the case and proceedings against the Queen of Scots." Sir W. Scott does not hesitate to say, that "the evidence brought to convict the Queen of Scotland, was such as would not now affect the life of the meanest criminal."

October 12th.—There is a letter of Elizabeth to Burghley, giving him orders "to stay the sentence against the Queen of Scots, till the commissioners shall return to her presence, and report their proceedings." Accordingly the court was adjourned to the 25th of October, when it was to meet in the Star-chamber in Westminster, an arrangement precisely similar to that contrived in the trial of Mary in York.

On that day the commissioners accordingly reassembled, with the exception of Warwick and Shrewsbury, and pronounced sentence of death against the Queen of Scots, "as accessary to Babington's plot, and as having compassed divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the person of queen Elizabeth, contrary to the statute in the com-

mission specified." The commissioners and judges at the same time published a declaration, that the sentence did not derogate from James, king of Scots, in his title and honor, that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the said sentence had never been pronounced.

In the meantime, Mary's bodily complaints returned upon her, nor was she without a presentiment of her fate before the sentence was pronounced. Still her mind maintained its unaltered tranquillity.

The following documents will make the reader familiar with the passing transactions of this eventful month.

October 15*th*.—Burghley to Davison.

Mr. Secretary,—Yesternight, upon receipt of your letter, dated Thursday, I wrote what was thought would be this day's work. *This Queen of the castle* was content to appear again before us in public, to be heard; but, in truth, not to be heard in her defence, for she could say nothing but negatively, that the points of the letters that concerned the practise against the Queen Majesty's person were not written by her, nor of her knowledge; as for the rest, for invasion, for escaping by force, she said she would neither affirm nor deny. Her intention was, by long artificial speeches, to move pity, and lay all blame upon the Queen's Majesty, or rather upon the Council, ascribing to them all the troubles past, averring her reasonable offers and our refusals. In these her speeches, I did so encounter her with reasons out of my knowledge and experience, that she had not that advantage she looked for. I am sure that the auditory did not find her case a pitiable one, nor her allegations true; by this means,

great and long debate fell out yesterday, and this day it was renewed with great stomaching. We had great reason to prorogue our session, which is run till the 25th, and so we of the Council shall be at the Court the 28th. We find all persons in commission here fully satisfied, that, by her Majesty's order, judgment will be given at our next meeting; as the record cannot be provided in five or seven days. That was one cause why, if we proceeded to judgment, we should have tarried five or seven days longer; and surely the country could not bear it, through the want of bread especially, our company there, and within six miles, being above two thousand horsemen. In consequence of her Majesty's letter, we of her Council, that is, the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Rich, Mr. Secretary, and myself only, procured this prorogation for the above causes. Knowing that her Majesty will have learned by the Lord of Cumberland, the course of these proceedings, sooner than this letter can come, I end.

From Burghley House.

October 18.—Mauvissiere to Henry III.

Sire,—The Queen sent the members of her council and thirty lords to Fotheringay to interrogate the Queen of Scotland. They arrived on Tuesday, the 21st of the month, but did not see the Queen on Wednesday because she was ill. On Thursday she repaired to the hall fitted up for the purpose, where a canopy and seat for Queen Elizabeth were placed, and facing it a chair for Mary. At this she was angry, as I am told, and said, she had a right to sit under a canopy, since she had been married to a King of France. Then casting her eyes upon the

assembly, and seeing so many lawyers, she said, "I see here many lords of council, but none for me."

The Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Attorney General then approached her, and set forth how they had received a commission from Queen Elizabeth to interrogate her respecting certain letters written by her to Babington and other conspirators, according to which it was intended to kill the Queen, and to seize upon the kingdom. She refused to answer on that day, and said she was a Queen, that she recognized no superior upon earth, and would answer nobody but the Queen herself. To this speech she added some other angry expressions.

The lords made a report of this matter to Elizabeth, who immediately wrote to Queen Mary a letter, which is word for word as follows:—

"You have in various ways and manners attempted to take my life, and to bring my kingdom to destruction by bloodshed. I have never proceeded so harshly against you, but have, on the contrary, protected and maintained you like myself. These treasons will be proved to you, and all made manifest. Yet it is my will that you answer the nobles and peers of the kingdom as if I were myself present. I therefore require, charge, and command that you make answer, for I have been well informed of your arrogance. Act plainly without reserve, and you will the sooner be able to obtain favour of me.

ELIZABETH."

This letter, which was without the subscription of cousin or sister, arrived on Friday morning; but Mary persisted in declaring that she would not

answer the lords. She would, however, tell them, that she had endeavoured by every means to gain her liberty, and would do so as long as she lived; but she had never plotted against the life of the Queen, nor had any connexion with Babington and the others for this purpose, but merely for her own liberation. If Elizabeth questioned her, she would tell the truth; and they were not to look upon this as a formal answer, which she would not give without the advice of the King of France, under whose protection she was.

The Lord Treasurer hereupon requesting her to look at some letters written with her own hand, she became rather angry, and said, "Here are several of my enemies present, who have brewed this for me." She even went so far as to utter many bitter expressions, and to say, "I have indeed had correspondence with many sovereigns respecting my deliverance, and even wished that a foreign force might come into this kingdom for that purpose." All she said was taken down in writing, read out, and signed by all the gentlemen present, &c.

P.S.—Queen Mary has said that she has sought by every means, only not by any plots against the life of Queen Elizabeth, to regain her liberty. That to free herself she has desired to bring a foreign force into this country, and for this purpose has come to an understanding with Babington and the other conspirators. This one fact condemns her, so that all the noblemen who were there will assemble on Monday next, the 3rd of November, and, as I know from good authority, will condemn her, and declare her deserving of death.

November 5.—Yesterday, Tuesday morning, the

lords assembled in the Star Chamber, where they remained till five in the afternoon. They caused the secretaries Nau and Curle to be three times brought before them and interrogated. Hereupon they unanimously declared Queen Mary guilty, and convicted of that conspiracy against the state of the Queen.

October 24.—PAULET TO WALSINGHAM.

I see no change in Mary from her former quietness and security. She is careful to have her chamber put in good order; desirous to have diverse things provided for her own necessary use; expecting to have her money shortly rendered unto her; taking pleasure in trifling lies, and in the whole course of her speech free from grief of mind in outward appearance. After some unimportant conversation she said to me, that histories make mention that this realm has been used to blood. I answered, that if she would peruse the chronicles of Scotland, France, Spain, and Italy, she would find that this realm was far behind any other Christian nation in shedding of blood, although the same was often very necessary when danger and offence did arise. She was not willing to wade further in this matter; and, indeed, it was easy to see she had no meaning in this speech to lead to her own case, but did utter it by way of discourse, after her wonted manner. In a postscript Paulet says, "She is utterly free from all fear of harm." On the 30th of October he writes that Mary is ill and confined to her bed, and on the 21st of November he observes :—"I deny that I have at any time left the lady in her passionate speeches; but I confess that I have left her often in her superfluous and idle speeches." From this we gather

that Paulet had been instructed not to suffer the passionate speeches of the Queen to pass unnoticed.

October 28th.—Paulet informs Burghley that he had lately an interview with the Scottish Queen, who had been indisposed for some days, and was taking medicine. He found her quite calm and composed. Speaking of what had recently occurred, he was inquisitive about the names of several of the commissioners, asking who such a person, sitting in such a place, was; making observations on their several speeches, &c. She said, as it were casually, "that history made mention how this realm was used to blood," and then dropped the conversation.

October 29th.—Paulet informs Walsingham, that the Scottish Queen's illness continues; that she had kept her bed five or six days, and still continues confined to it. On the 13th of November following, we have him expressing his joy at learning that Sir Drue Drury was to be associated with him in the charge of the Queen; as, independently of his qualifications, he was an old and intimate friend.

November 17th.—Shrewsbury writes to Burghley of this date:—

I have received your Lordship's letters, both of the 12th and 14th of November, whereby I find myself greatly beholding to your Lordship for your good remembrance of me, with the proceedings of the foul matters of the Scottish Queen; sentence whereof, as I understand by your Lordship is given and confirmed, and execution to be had accordingly. I perceive it now rests in her Majesty's hands; for my own part, I pray God to inspire her heart to take such course as may be for her Majesty's own safety, the which, I trust her Majesty's grave wisdom will wisely pursue, which, in my conceit, can-

not be without speedy execution.—*From Orton Longville.*

November 22d.—The sentence against the Queen of Scots had been pronounced, and Elizabeth, to use the language of Sir J. Mackintosh, "had now her prey completely in her talons. She endeavoured to mask her purpose by a show of reluctance and regret; but her dissimulation sometimes gave way to the fierceness of her instinct. Her ministers entreated her, for the sake of religion, the state, and her precious life, to sign the warrant. She put them off with expressions of hesitation and regret. Both houses of parliament, summoned extraordinarily, made the same prayer. The house of commons, through their speaker, supported it with examples from the Bible of rulers who had incurred God's vengeance by sparing the lives of their enemies. These very men had been loud in their execrations of the Popish impiety and cruelty which had made religion a motive for the massacre of St. Bartholomew: yet they themselves would now steep the Scriptures in blood! Elizabeth replied in a tone of hypocrisy, as detestable as the ferocity of her petitioners, that she had an extreme repugnance to take the life of the criminal; and that she wished the two houses could discover some other mode of disposing of her, consistent with the safety of religion and the state,—and threw out to them, at the same time, the deadly suggestion that she had discovered another plot to assassinate her within a month."

The two houses re-considered their petition, but finding no other mode than death, repeated their prayer for blood. In reply the pious Queen gave them a sermon instead of an answer. "Continuing

this odious scene of grimace," to use an expression of Mr. Hallam, she exclaimed; "What will they say, when it shall be spread, that, for the safety of her life, a maiden Queen could be content to spill the blood even of her own kinsman? I may full well complain that every man should think me given to cruelty, of which I am so guiltless and innocent, that I should slander God, if I should say he gave me so vile a mind: yea, I protest I am so far from it, that for my own life I would not touch her."

The conclusion of the homily may be called oracular for its ambiguity and imposture: "And now for your petition,—I should pray you, for the present, to content yourselves with an answer without an answer. Your judgment I condemn not, neither do I mistake your reasons, but pray you to accept my thankfulness, excuse my doubtfulness, and take in good part my answer answerless. Therein I attribute not so much to my own judgment, but that I think many persons may go before me, though, by my degree, I go before them. Therefore, if I should say, I would not do what you request, it might peradventure, be more than I thought; and to say I would do it, might perhaps breed peril of that which you labour to preserve, being more than in my own wisdom and discretion would seem convenient, circumstances of time and place duly considered."

With a mind abhorrent of blood, and reluctantly compelled by the authority of parliament, the tender-hearted Queen, after a severe struggle with the gentleness of her nature, consented to publish the sentence by proclamation. The inhabitants of London illuminated their houses for joy, and the church-bells rang merry peals for twenty four hours.

November 23d.—The unwelcome task of an-

nouncing these occurrences to the Queen of Scots, was imposed on Lord Buckhurst. Mary has left us the particulars of the interview, in a letter to her friends in France. "It is now intimated to us by order of their Queen, and by the mouth of Lord Buckhurst, Sir Amias Paulet, and Sir Drue Drury, that the states of parliament have condemned me to death.—The day before yesterday, Paulet and Drury returned to speak with me. They said, that, as I had shown no repentance, or sense of my offence towards the Queen, she had commanded that my canopy of state should be taken down, considering me as already dead, and deprived of honour and dignity as a Queen. I replied, that, as God of his goodness had called me to that dignity, to Him alone, with my spirit, I would resign it. That I acknowledged neither their Queen as my superior, nor their Parliament nor their Council as my judges; that they had no other power over me, than that of robbers over the helpless who fall into their hands. On this, Paulet having called for seven or eight of his guards, made them pull down my state canopy; he then sat himself down upon it, and put on his hat."

What a picture of brutal insolence in the unfeeling tyrant and minions of her power, is here exhibited! But not all the studied insults of Elizabeth towards her helpless prisoner, in the last scenes of this tragedy, could humble the spirit of Mary, or draw from her the least unbecoming word or reflection. In the very depth of her distress, how superior is she seen to rise to her insulting rival!

November 23d.—MARY TO POPE SIXTUS V.

Most Holy Father,—I humbly approach your Holiness, to ask your benediction, and to beg leave

to state what has befallen me. The very day on which the present is dated, I have been ordered by persons sent from the Queen of England, to prepare for death. If I am allowed to see my almoner, or any Catholic priest, it is my intention to comply with the proper forms as established in the holy Church. I have, however, reason to fear that this will be refused me; therefore, lowly at your feet, most Holy Father, do I confess myself a sinner in the sight of God, and through your prayers implore his mercy and compassion upon my soul; between which and the justice of God I interpose the blood of Jesus Christ, crucified for me and for all sinners, of whom I confess myself to be the most unworthy, considering the graces I have received, and which I have so ill employed and so ineffectually corresponded to. This would render me unworthy of pardon, were not his saving grace promised to all who feel the weight of sin, and groan in anguish of spirit; and did not his mercy encourage us to approach him, in that tender invitation, "come to me all you that labour and are heavily laden, and you shall find rest to your souls." Then, like another prodigal son, do I hasten, to be received into his paternal embrace, to be pardoned for the offences of the past, and to be freed from the burden of sin. And here also do I fulfil what I most earnestly desire, and that is to offer willingly at the foot of the cross my life and my blood for the maintenance of the Catholic Church of God, and in proof of the sincere love which I bear the same, and without the restoration of which I should no longer desire to live.*

* We quote Dr. Lingard. "In the remainder of the letter she proceeds to recommend to the pontiff the conversion of

December 4.—On this day, Mary's sentence was proclaimed throughout the kingdom, Elizabeth keeping up the farce of affected sensibility, by protesting that the sentence was extorted from her, to her great grief, by the necessity of the case and the prayers of her people.

On the same day there is a letter from Paulet to Walsingham, in his usual temper. He expresses his surprise at not hearing from him lately, and hints that Fotheringay had been forgotten; "and yet who does not know that this Lady has given all her Majesty's true and faithful subjects cause not to sleep soundly, till this head and seed plot of all practises and conspiracies be utterly extirpated. I hope soon to hear of a happy determination; for

her son to the Catholic faith, for which purpose she wishes him to employ the co-operation of the King of Spain, the only prince who has aided her during her captivity. If James should continue obstinate, she leaves all her right in the crown of England to the disposal of the sovereign pontiff and of that monarch. Should he repent, she requires of him to look on Philip, and the princes of the house of Guise, as his nearest relatives; and hopes, as the last blessing she can wish for on earth, that he may marry the infanta of Spain.—I have called the reader's attention to this letter for the following reason. For many years after the death of Mary, it was believed that, on the eve of her execution, she made a will by which she left the kingdom of England to Philip of Spain, in case her son did not become a Catholic; and that Cardinal Laurea, and Lewis Owen, bishop of Cassano, had attested that it was in the hand writing of the Queen. This will, however, could never be discovered. In my opinion, there can be little doubt that the report arose from misconception, and that the real will was this letter; and what confirms this conjecture is, that, at the end of it there is subjoined an attestation of Lewis Owen, bishop of Cassano, that the handwriting is that of Mary, Queen of Scots."

opportunities neglected, are very often accompanied with dangerous effect. This Lady is ill in one of her knees, but that is no new thing."

December 9.—In a letter of Paulet to Walsingham, he says:—"The Queen's Majesty has answered the French ambassador in such sound, princely, and majestical sort, as moved admiration of all the hearers. Her Highness being now justly provoked in many ways, if I mistake not the copy, will not give place to the pride of so poor a neighbour, but will repress the same in its first budding; a principal, or rather the only remedy, in such froward, I will not say presumptuous, attempts." In conclusion, Paulet says, "that he is persuaded of the honourable necessity of the case;" by which he undoubtedly means the execution of Mary.

December 10*th*.—Paulet made a report from Chartley to Walsingham, on the discharge of Mary's superfluous servants and the sequestration of her money. "I went," he says, "with Richard Bagot to the Queen; we found her in her bed, troubled in her old manner, with a defluxion fallen down to the side of her neck, and bereft of the use of one of her hands: unto whom I declared, that upon occasion of her former practices, doubting lest she should persist therein by corrupting under-hand some bad members of the state, I was expressly commanded to take her money into my hands, and to be answerable for it when required, advising her to deliver the said money to me with quickness. After many denials, many exclamations, and other words against you (I say nothing of her railing against myself), with this affirmation, that her Majesty might have her body, but would never have her heart; refusing to deliver the key of her cabinet, I called my ser-

vants, and sent for bars to break open the door; whereupon she yielded, and sent, causing the door to be opened. I found therein the coffers mentioned in Mr. Wade's note, five rolls containing 5000 French crowns, and two other bags, whereof the one had in gold £204 10s., and the other had £— in silver; which bag of silver was deliverd to her, on her affirming that she had no more money in the house, and that she was indebted to her servants for their wages. Mr. Wade's note mentions five rolls left in Curle's chamber, wherein no doubt he was mistaken, for we found but two, and in each 1000 crowns, which was the Queen's gift to Curle's wife for her marriage. There is found in Nau's chamber, in a cabinet, a chain of gold, worth by estimate £100; in money, in one bag, £900; in another, £200; in a third, £59; and in a purse, £286 18s, &c. &c.

December 19.—Perceiving that the crisis of her fate was approaching, Mary addressed her last letter to Elizabeth. The appeal is touching and eloquent, and bespeaks that native elevation of soul which the Queen of Scotland displayed to the last.

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

MADAME,—With my whole heart I render thanks to God, who is pleased, by your sentence, to put a period to my long and sorrowful pilgrimage. I do not wish it to be protracted, having long enough experienced its bitterest distresses. All I do, is to entreat your Majesty, that, as I have no favour to expect from the ministers who hold the first rank in your state, I may stand indebted to you alone for the following favours:

First, As I cannot expect to be allowed the rites of sepulture in England, according to the Catholic

rites and solemnities, used by your royal ancestors, as well as mine; and as in Scotland they have profaned and violated the ashes of my forefathers; I request, when my enemies shall be glutted with my innocent blood, that my body may be transported by my servants, and interred in consecrated ground; and above all, I wish it to be in France, where the bones of my much honored mother do now rest; that so, this poor body, which has never known repose while united to my spirit, may at last find rest, when separated therefrom.

Secondly, I beseech your Majesty, from the apprehension I have of those to whom you have given me up, that my execution may not be in any private or obscure place, but in the sight of my servants, and of other persons who may bear witness of my faith and adherence to the true Church; and that I may be able to vindicate the last scene of my life, and my dying breath, from the false reports which my enemies may spread abroad concerning me.

Thirdly, I request that my servants, who have served me in the midst of so many distresses, and testified so much fidelity, may be allowed to withdraw themselves freely to whatever place they choose, and that they may enjoy the small bequests which my poverty has left them in my will.

I conjure you, Madam, by the blood of Jesus Christ, by the ties of consanguinity, and by the memory of King Henry the VII., our common grandsire, and by the title of Queen, which I bear, and shall do, till my death, do not refuse the above reasonable requests; and to assure me of the same, by a record under your hand. Thereupon I shall die, as I have lived,

Your affectionate sister and prisoner,

MARIE R.

To this dignified and feeling appeal, the obdurate heart of Elizabeth made no reply.

It will be asked with natural anxiety, what was the conduct of Mary's only son, at a moment so critical. James affected great resentment, and probably felt a momentary sorrow for his mother's death. To save appearances, he refused to receive into his kingdom Sir Robert Carey, who was the bearer of Elizabeth's letter, yet we learn from the Memoirs of that envoy, that this prohibition was accompanied with a very favourable, though private message from James, assuring him that the prohibition was issued merely to repress the vindictive violence of his subjects. The following letters will throw a light upon the subject.

Sept. 28th.—THE MASTER OF GRAY TO ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

SIR,—Touching the conspiracy, I cannot now write at length, but defer it till I send Roger; yet thus far I advertise you, that the King is well-willed in all things, as ye left him, and very glad of the discovery of this matter. But his opinion is, that it cannot stand with his honour that he be a consenter to take his mother's life, but he is content that she be strictly kept, and all her old knavish servants hanged, chiefly they who are in hands. For this you must deal very warily to avoid inconvenience, seeing the necessity of all honest men's affairs requires that she were out of the way. I commit you to God.

From Dumfries.

Sept. 28th.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Sept. 28th.—I received your letter this 28th.

His Majesty is very well content with all your proceedings, but chiefly touching his bucks and hunting horses. I pray you negociate so well, that ye fail not to effectuate substantially that point. As for his mother, his command is, that you do as he gave your nephew Richard instruction. I can assure you he is content the law should go forward, her life being safe, and would gladly wish that all foreign princes should know how ill she has conducted herself to the Queen-Majesty there, and that she receive favour through her clemency.

From Falkland.

James' suffering mother was left to her fate, but the King's favourite amusement, the chase, is carefully provided for. Randolph, Elizabeth's minister in Scotland, says in a letter, to Arch. Douglass, "I have sent the King two hunting men, very good and skillful, with one footman, that can hoop, hollow, and cry, that all the trees of Falkland will quake for fear. Pray the King's Majesty to be merciful to the poor bucks; but let him spare and look well to himself."

October 10.—MAITLAND TO SIR WILLIAM KEITH.

By your letters sent by this bearer,—though on no pleasant subject, his Majesty conceives well of your earnestness and fidelity in this negociation. His Majesty takes this rigorous proceeding against his mother deeply to heart, as a matter greatly concerning him, both in honour and otherwise. His Highness's actions and behaviour plainly bespeak not only how far nature prevails, but also his views of the sequel of that process, and of what moment he esteems it. An embassy is shortly to be sent thither,

on whose answer will depend the continuance or dissolution of the amity and good intelligence between the Princes of this Isle. I need not recommend to you the care of your master's service, both in weal and honour.—The people and all estates here are so far moved by the rigorous proceedings against the Queen, and his Majesty and all who have credit are so importuned, that there is no going abroad for exclamations and imprecations against the Queen of England.

October 11.—JAMES TO ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

Use no longer reserve in earnest dealing for my mother, for you have done it too long. Think not that any labours of yours can do good, if her life be taken, for then adieu with my dealing with them that are the instruments thereof. If, therefore, you look for the continuance of my favour, spare no pains nor plainness of speech in this case, but read my letter to William Keith, and conform yourself wholly to the contents thereof, and in this request let me reap the fruits of your great credit there, either now or never. Farewell.

October 16.—ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO JAMES.

As to interceding for the life of the Queen, your mother, I have in every audience endeavoured to learn what the Queen's full determination was on that point, and could never bring her to any further answer, than that this proceeding against her by order of justice, was no less against her mind, than in accordance with their will who loved her best. It was her pleasure to inform me that a number of the members of the Association had earnestly pressed her that the law might proceed, and that if she would

not follow their advice, they should be without blame whatever should befal. In this both Papists and Protestants joined, but with different views: the former to avoid suspicion, the others from zeal for the preservation of their Sovereign.

December 29.—The ambassadors extraordinary, Sir Robert Melville, an old and faithful servant of the crown, and the venal Gray arrived in London, charged with James's proposals for his mother's life. In their first audience with the Queen, she said; "I am unmeasurably sorry that there can be no means found to save the life of your King's mother with assurance of my own. I have laboured to preserve the life of both, but it cannot be done." As she appeared to speak in passion, the ambassadors were silent, and withdrew for the time.

At a second audience, the Queen demanded of them what they had to propose on the part of James, adding, disdainfully, that a thing long looked for should be good when it comes. The Master of Gray then requested to know if Queen Mary was still alive, for a rumour of her death was even already current. "As yet," replied the Queen, "I believe she lives; but I will not promise an hour." Gray replied, that his master's propositions were calculated to pledge his credit in behalf of his mother, to that effect interposing the chief of his nobility as hostages that no plot or enterprise against Queen Elizabeth should be undertaken with the knowledge or countenance of Mary. Or, if it pleased Elizabeth to send Queen Mary into Scotland, King James would engage that the English realm should be safe from all interference on her part. Queen Elizabeth called to the Earl of Leicester, with other lords of her council who were in the chamber, and repeated

to them the proposals of the King of Scots, in a tone of scorn, as totally inadequate to the occasion. Gray took the opportunity to ask why the Queen of Scots should be esteemed so dangerous to her Majesty? "Because," answered Elizabeth hastily, "she is a papist, and they say she shall succeed to my throne." Gray replied, that Mary would divest herself of such a right in favour of her son. The speaking of Queen Mary's claim of succession as real gave fresh offence. "She hath no such right," answered the Queen hastily: "she is declared incapable of succession."—"Supposing that to be the case," replied the Scottish ambassador, "there is an end of danger from the papists, since they can trust nothing to a claim of succession which has been annulled, and therefore the reason fails which renders your kinswoman's life dangerous to your Majesty."—Elizabeth replied, that "though Mary's right was indeed annulled, the papists would not allow that it had ceased to exist."—"If so," replied the Master of Gray, "the Queen of Scots having demitted, with consent of her friends, all right of succession in favour of her son, could no longer pretend to exercise it in her own right, nor could she find support in so doing." The Queen at first pretended not to understand the measure which was proposed: the Earl of Leicester explained it, by stating the proposal of Gray to be that the King of Scots should be placed in the rights of his mother. Elizabeth then burst into one of her characteristic passions. "Is that your meaning?" said she, "then I should put myself in worse case than before! By God's passion!" she exclaimed with much vehemence, "this were to cut mine own throat: he shall never come into that place or be party with me

(that is, possess a share in the succession.)*"—"Yet the King of Scots," answered Gray, "must become party with your Majesty, when he succeeds, by his mother's death, to her claims of every kind. Thus the act which we now deprecate will only accelerate a position in respect to Queen Mary's son, of which your Majesty is pleased to entertain an apprehension."

Sensible that in this logical discussion she was losing ground, Elizabeth waived further argument in a debate where reason obviously failed her, and took leave of the ambassadors with these words:—"Let your King recollect what I have done for him, and how long I have maintained the crown upon his head, even since the hour of his birth. For my part, I am determined to keep the league between the kingdoms. If the King of Scots shall break it, he commits a double fault." With these words, as the last intimation of her pleasure, she was about to leave the apartment, when Sir Robert Melville followed her, beseeching for some delay of the execution; to which she replied, in the tone of authority which had distinguished her deportment during the whole conference, "No, NOT AN HOUR!"

To use the words of Sir W. Scott, "it is scarcely necessary to point out to the reader the different manner in which Elizabeth received the addresses of the houses of peers and commons, pressing her for Mary's immediate execution, and the Scottish ambassadors entreating for delay of the same. To the first she replied with an affectation of feminine

* On another occasion the Queen remarked, "that such a speech [of the succession] was as welcome as salt to her eyes; it was to pin up her winding-sheet before her face."

hesitation, and prayed her good people not to press her too hard on a subject so painful. To the second she answered, in the tone of a lioness who has grasped her prey, "No, not an hour!"*

Nov. 10th.—THE MASTER OF GRAY TO ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

This bearer is directed according as you and he desired, in the best suit that for the present occurred, as you shall understand by himself. I had written by him a long letter at his Majesty's command, but I am countermanded till we hear from you. Yet something I will set down; but keep it from all men. The letter was to have been written by me, and directed to your Lordship's self, but to the end that you should divulge it through that court. I find his Majesty in conscience as yet right fast, and he will be loath to take evil impressions; but ye know what time doth work in all kind of subjects, and chiefly in the minds of Princes. All men drive at him, first, for his mother, next for the matter of his title.—My Lord of Leicester has sent at diverse times an offer of the propriety of the Low Countries to the King's Majesty; and again of late, he craves an answer. This is a thing not to be refused.

From Holyrood House.

* Great minds erect their never-failing trophies
On the firm base of mercy; but to triumph
Over a suppliant, by base fortune captiv'd,
Argues a bastard conquest.—Nay, believe me,
Mercy's the noblest banquet of the gods;
Whene'er the innocent and virtuous
Escape from death, *then* is their festival:
Nectar ne'er flows more largely, than when blood,
That should not have been spilt, is saved.

Massinger.

Nov. 27th.—FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

. . . His Majesty is resolved to send a nobleman or two of his Council [to London.] As yet he is unresolved whom to send. For myself, I have as yet refused; but as the King took it ill, I have taken time to advise. I have laid the good and evil of both sides, as far as I can, and judge ye of them. Refuse I, the King will think I know already what is to come of things; so that if she [the Queen of Scots] die, he will not fail to quarrel with me for it. Live she, I shall have double harm. Refuse I not, but undertake the voyage, if she die, men will think I have lent her a hand; so that I shall live under that slander; and live she by my travail, I bring a staff to break my own head.* I would fain the Queen there and her Council would devise some middle course, for, by G—d, the matter is hard both to you and me. I have written a letter to the Queen's Majesty, whereof I send you a copy. To be plain with you, it was the King's mind I should do so. . . . I pray you, gain over that young man, Wm. Keith, for he may do good. Deal, I pray you, both by yourself, and assist Keith, for a continuation of any execution against the King's mother. I think it not importunate ye deal freely in this matter with the Queen, and Mr. Secretary, and also with my

* That Gray's anticipations were realized appears from a letter of Lord Hundson to Walsingham, of March 18th, the year following: "As for the Master of Gray, he hath never since had any dealing for the King, nor the King with him; and I dare assure you, that, if he come into Scotland, the King will take his life; and, therefore, let him take heed he come not there." Well might Gray exclaim in one of his letters to Douglas, "ye know how mortal all princes are, and so it is good to look at home."

Lord Treasurer, and let them know the very simple verity, for, in my judgment, they love to be in friendship with the King.

But though James evinced no very active zeal in his mother's cause, he took a step which demanded no very great sacrifice—he ordered her to be prayed for. This was done under a form to which surely there was nothing to which the most scrupulous Presbyterian conscience could object, since the tenor of the prayer ran that it might please God to illuminate her with the light of His truth, and save her from the apparent danger in which she was placed. Bigotry, however, was delicately scrupulous, and the pious fathers of the Scottish Church refused to comply with the modest and natural request of their Sovereign. "If we must pray for her," said one of the restive ministers, "it must be for the fashion of the thing, as we have no other cause."

Even those who complied, added as follows: "and we pray for her conversion and amendment of life, and if it be God's pleasure to preserve her from the present danger, that she may be hereafter a profitable member in Christ's Church." In the capital, in particular, the refusal was nearly general, so that the King was obliged to appoint the Archbishop of St. Andrews to preach before him on a certain day, in order that he might hear the safety of his mother recommended in the prayers of his subjects. In this, however, he was disappointed. An enthusiastic young man, named Cooper, though not himself yet called to the ministry, intruded himself into the pulpit, by the encouragement as it is said of his betters, and excluded the prelate.

Sanderson thus describes the scene: "When this young fellow entered the pulpit, the King cried out:

'I say, Master John, that place is for another: yet, as you are there, do your duty; obey the charge, and pray for my mother.'

"John Cooper replied, that he would do no otherwise than as the spirit should direct him.

"Whereupon the captain of the King's guards lugged him down from the pulpit, and the Arch-Bishop performed the office most grave and learnedly."*

"But," says McCrie, "the worst feature in the affair is, that there is great reason to suspect that James wished the ministers to act a part in the solemn farce, along with himself and Elizabeth. While he was issuing orders to offer up prayers for his mother's preservation, and summoning, imprisoning, and silencing ministers for disobeying, strong presumptions are not wanting, that his grief for her fate, and his indignation at Elizabeth's conduct, were in a great degree affected and hypocritical. It is certain, at least, that they were neither deep nor lasting. One proof of this, among many others, may be mentioned. Soon after the execution of

* If a current tradition may be trusted, such contests between the pulpit and the throne occurred more than once, in the face of the congregation. It is said that a young preacher, flourishing before King James on some subject highly offensive to him, the monarch lost patience, and called aloud to him, "I tell thee, man, either to speak sense, or come down." To which reasonable request, as it might be thought, the preacher stoutly replied; "And I tell thee, man, that I will neither speak sense, nor come down."

James was a terrible swearer, and several of his oaths have been preserved for the edification of future times. When informed of the insolence of certain preachers of the same stamp, he uttered this paternal wish; "May the devil rive their souls and bodies all into collops, and cast them into the bottomless pit."

Mary, Melville happened to be introduced to his Majesty. James appeared to be in great spirits; he laughed, and frisked, and danced about the room, in the way usual with him in his early years. The contrast between this levity, and the sable attire of the company and apartment, struck Melville's fancy, and suggested to him the manner in which Mary *was said* to have mourned for the murder of her husband. He expressed his feelings in an *impromptu*, to a gentleman who sat beside him. The King seeing the gentleman smile, came forward and eagerly inquired the cause of his mirth. The gentleman excused himself, saying that a sally of the principal's wit had extorted a smile from him. Melville also wished to evade gratifying the King's curiosity; but James insisting on his demand, and assuring him that he would not resent any freedom that might have been uttered; he repeated the lines:

> Quid sibi vult tantus lugubri sub veste cachinnus?—
> Scilicet hic matrem deflet, ut illa patrem.
>
> Midst mourning whence such mirth, do you inquire?—
> He wails his mother, as she wail'd his sire.

"It is not impossible," says Sir W. Scott, "that, if instead of entering into squabbles with his clergy on the mode of petitioning Heaven in his mother's behalf, King James had descended to look for earthly succours, and appealed to his subjects on so national an occasion, he might, on a wonderfully short notice, have assembled upon the borders an army of 40,000 men, who would not willingly have seen the blood of their Sovereign's mother shed upon a scaffold, by command of a foreign power. Many of the Scottish nobility evinced a proper feeling as to the stain thrown upon their country by the legal

murder of their Queen. The Lord Sinclair, in particular, instead of complying with the order for general mourning, appeared in the presence chamber in full armour, as the fittest weeds for the occasion."*

Elizabeth and her ministers managed James as they pleased, being familiarly acquainted with his temper, and his foibles. Melville informs us that "Wotton, the ambassador, became one of James's most familiar minions, waiting upon him at all fixed pastimes." Sir Richard Wigmore "was particularly instructed by Walsingham in all the methods to gain upon the King's confidence, and to observe and give an account of all he saw; which he did very faithfully." Walsingham, as Burnet informs us, "thought the King was either inclined to turn papist,† or to be of no religion." His aversion to Elizabeth, was softened down by a pension of ten thousand pounds a year, which after his mother's death was increased to two thousand more; "her Majesty," to use Burleigh's own words, "promis-

* I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thy epitaph in blood and wounds.

The above characteristic anecdote would supply a fine national subject for the pencil of a Wilkie.

† To judge by the following declaration made by James in parliament, this apprehension must have been altogether groundless; "My Lords," exclaims the King, "for my part, I protest before God, that my heart has bled when I have heard of the increase of popery. God is my judge, it has been as thorns in my side. My Lords and gentlemen, you shall be my confessors, that, one way or other, it has been my desire to hinder the growth of popery. And this I may say further, that, if I be not a martyr, I am sure I am a confessor; for never King suffered more from evil tongues than I have done; and I am sure from no cause."

ing to continue it as long as he shall make it appear to the world, that he is willing to deserve her extraordinary care and kindness towards him."

James's passion for hunting has already been noticed, it was one of his predominant foibles, and Elizabeth did not fail to take advantage of it. It was one of the means by which his resentment for the death of his mother was speedily appeased. If the reader doubts the fact, let him peruse the following letter.

RANDOLPH THE ENVOY TO WALSINGHAM.

The King departed suddenly from Edinburgh to Falkland, which indeed was but to see the deer which her Majesty of England had sent him, taken out of the carts and put into the park. Now that her Majesty has supplied him with deer sufficient to furnish him with pastime this summer, he has prayed me, that, by your Honour's intercession, her Majesty may be moved to lend him for the space of two months a couple of her Majesty's yeomen hunters, and a couple of the grooms of the leash; he prayed me also to put your Honour in mind of some horses and geldings.

The reader will not forget that this letter dates but three months from the execution of James's mother.

The following memorandum of the same English Envoy, attests the fact of James having received large sums of money from the murderess of his mother, and in the very year of her execution.

Memorandum, that Anno Domini 1585, I was sent into Scotland by her Majesty to the King there. I received by her Majesty's order out of the Exchequer £2000, to be employed for her High-

ness's service upon the noblemen and others, at my discretion, and as I found cause, and as I was from time to time advertised by letters from Mr. Secretary Walsingham. This I write for my discharge. As for that other account, I can make none, nor yet of the £4000, which I delivered to the King's self by like command from her Majesty, *anno* 1586. In such cases, princes do not give bills in their hand, nor any other that receive like rewards, for danger or reproach to themselves for receiving of the same. I have one bill [receipt] for £2000. By me THOMAS RANDOLPH.

After this, well might the English council express their surprise, that "all was so soon forgotten," and to use Melville's expressive words, that "the blood had already fallen from his Majesty's heart."

Strype in his Annals (Vol. 3. p. 382) has quoted from the Cotton Mss. James's *second thoughts* for not revenging his mother's death. He says; "I am unable to revenge the heinous murder of *my dearest mother:* first, in respect of my tender youth, not trained up in dexterity of arms, either to withstand injuries or to conquer my own right; being at all times by-gone, and detained as it were in captivity. Next, my excessive *cowpit* [cupidity?] from hand to mouth, from needy to needy, and from greedy to greedy; having sufficient patrimony and casualty, and yet none at all in store."

Osburne describes James as "dressed in colours green as the grass he trod on, with a feather in his cap, and a horn instead of a sword by his side."

"This King was excessively addicted to hunting and drinking," says Coke, "not ordinary French and Spanish wines, but strong Greek wines; and though he would divide his hunting from his drink-

ing, yet he would compound his hunting with drinking, and to that purpose he was attended by a special officer, who was, as much as he could be, always at hand to fill the King's cup in hunting, whenever he called for it. I have heard my father say, that, being hunting with the King, after his Majesty had drunk off the wine, he also drank of it, and though he was young and of a healthful constitution, it so disordered his head that it spoiled his pleasure, and disordered him for three days after. After much drinking, the King was thrust on horseback, and as he was set so would he ride, without otherwise fixing himself on his saddle; nay, when his hat was set wrong upon his head, he could not take the pains to alter it, but it sat as it was upon him." (*Coke's Detection*, p. 42.)

Upon the subject of his excessive fondness for hunting, James received a very severe rebuke from the great Sully, at the time he was ambassador in England. On James inquiring whether Henry IV., his master, was a lover of the chase, Sully replied; "That Henry loved all exercises; but that none of them ever made him neglect his affairs, or prevented him from carefully inspecting the proceedings of his ministers."—(*Sully's Memoirs*, ii. 29.)

In what esteem James was held by his French neighbours, may be gathered from a popular rhyme.

Tandis qu' Elizabeth fut Roi,
L'Anglois fut d'Espagne l'effroi;
Maintenant devise et caquette,
Regi par la Reine Jaquette.

The while Elizabeth was King,
Her name in fear thro' Spain would ring;
Now, in derision, child and mammy
Talk of the reign of good Queen Jamie.

CHAPTER XI.

MARY OF SCOTS IN FOTHERINGAY CASTLE.

1587.—ÆTAT. 44.—FROM JANUARY 10, TO FEBRUARY 8.

Artifices employed to urge on the execution of Mary's sentence—Attempt of Elizabeth to engage Paulet and Drury to assassinate their prisoner—Last letters of Mary to the Duke of Guise and the French King—Her sentence is announced to her—Her preparation for death—Her execution.

WE have now reached the closing scene of the sorrows and sufferings of Mary Stuart. Long ago had her implacable rival pronounced over her this vindictive threat: "No, I promise you, that the head of that Queen shall never rest in quiet!" During eighteen long and melancholy years had Mary realized the effects of the malice breathed forth in that vindictive denunciation. The hopes which, from time to time, she had been taught to form, served but to render repeated disappointments more poignant and insupportable. Well, therefore, might Mary aspire for that better world, "where the wicked shall cease from troubling, and the weary be at rest."

Her life now lay at the mercy of Elizabeth. For upwards of two months after the publication of the sentence against the Queen of Scots, she remained

in a state of apparent irresolution. This arose from no compunctious visitings, no feelings of pity and remorse, but from a selfish regard for her own reputation. This wavering state of her mind did not escape the watchful eye of the enemies of Mary, and a thousand artifices were resorted to to induce her to strike the blow for which their vengeance thirsted.

Among the reasons urged for the speedy execution of the Queen of Scots, were the following.

In a petition delivered to Elizabeth by Chancellor Hatton, it is said; "It is most perilous to spare her, who has continually sought the overthrow and suppression of the true religion, being infected with popery from her tender youth, and ever since a professed enemy against the truth. She resteth wholly upon popish hopes to deliver and advance her, and is so devoted to that profession, that, as well for the satisfaction of others, as for feeding her own humour, she will supplant the Gospel, when and wheresoever she may; for true religion cannot but be exceedingly weakened by the defection of this noble Island." In a letter to a friend, at this critical conjuncture, his words are broad enough; "That dangerous woman, whose life is a step to her Majesty's death. She is bound for her own safety and that of her subjects, to add to God's providence her own policy, so far as may stand with justice."

Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, does not scruple to write thus to Burghley; "If only that one desperate person were taken away, as in justice now she might be, the Queen Majesty's good subjects would be in better hope, and the papists' daily expectations vanquished."

Sir Ralph Sadler thus delivered his opinion in parliament:—"As for the Queen of Scots, she is in your hands, and your Majesty may so use her, that she shall not be able to hurt you. It is merely to this end that God has delivered her into your hands, and we trust that your Majesty will not neglect the benefit which God offers you in thus delivering such an enemy into your hands."

Another speaker has the following flourish; "As touching this Queen, neither her own land could abide her, nor could the ocean-sea, to whose mercy, in extreme refuge, she committed herself, brook her; nor can this land of England, where she has remained above eighteen years, in the protection of our Sovereign Lady, Elizabeth, like her, or be liked by her:" and hence this orator deduces the logical conclusion, that the Queen of Scots is to be put to death. The letters of Leicester to Burleigh, at this period, show how active this minion was in urging on his mistress to extreme measures. His officiousness sometimes became offensive. In a letter dated Sunday afternoon, three o'clock, he says; "Her Majesty has been in strange resolutions with me since dinner, but God, I trust, will put a better determination in her heart, both for herself and us all." This was written on the 2nd of December; on the 4th he says to Burleigh; "As for the rest of your letter, I see that her Majesty begins to startle at it, and believes it verily; for it has been long, she says, one of her fears. I answered her again, that the fault was only her own; for never has any Prince had more warnings, nor better advices, than she has had, to prevent all this long ago. I said further, that now she might see how convenient it is for a

Prince, yea the wisest, to trust faithful known counsellors; and had she believed any one among them all, none of these troubles had possibly come in her time. But seeing she could not call back what was passed, I besought her Majesty to have due consideration, first of her own self, and next of her whole charge, who depended only upon her good and gracious direction, on which even now depended no less than her own person, and the kingdom's safety. Well, than this none could say better; God deeply work it into her heart, and direct her with his Holy Spirit!"

Nor was it enough that the fanatics at home incited the Queen to desperate measures; the notorious Theodore Beza joined in the cry. In his "Reveil au matin," he besought Elizabeth to destroy Mary Stuart, that wicked Medea, only less criminal than Catharine de Medicis, who, if permitted to live, would prove a curse to the people of God.

We opened our volumes with the assertion of Bishop Milner, that "the life of the persecuted Queen of Scots was sought, merely because she was a Catholic, and heir apparent to the crown." What are the above, but so many undeniable attestations of the truth of what the learned Bishop advanced?

Carte informs us, after Blackwood, whom he describes as possessing great opportunities of knowing the truth of these matters, that "Paulet had received instructions, in case of any disturbance in the Queen's apartments, or about the place where she was, to have her put to death, without waiting for any further power or orders. In fact, upon occasion of the chimney of her room taking fire, which

was construed into a signal to those without the walls of the castle, he actually appointed four of his servants, as they afterwards confessed, to kill her in her ante-chamber, if she made the least offer to escape."

The instructions here given to Paulet for the regulation of his conduct towards the Scottish Queen, were tolerably significant of what would be acceptable at his hands. The following letter sent some months previous had conveyed a hint still less incapable of being mistaken.

Amias, my most faithful and careful servant,—God reward thee treblefold for thy most troublesome charge so well discharged. If you knew, my Amias, how kindly, besides most dutifully, my grateful heart accepts and prizes your spotless endeavours and faultless actions, your wise orders and safe regard, performed in so dangerous and crafty a charge, it would ease your *travails* [troubles], and rejoice your heart, in which I charge you place this most just thought, that I cannot balance in any weight of my judgment the value that I prize you at, and suppose no treasure to countervail such a faith, and shall condemn me in that fault which I never committed, if I recompense not such deserts, and let me lack when I have most need, if I acknowledge not such merit with a reward *non omnibus datum*—not given to all.

Let your wicked murderess know how with hearty sorrow her vile deserts compel these orders, and bid her from me, ask God forgiveness for her treacherous dealings towards the saviour of her life many a year, to the intolerable peril of my own; and yet, not contented with so much forgiveness, must fail again so horribly, far passing a woman's

thought, much less a Princess. Instead of excusing whereof, not one can sorrow, it being so plainly confessed by the authors of my guiltless death. Let repentance take place, and let not the fiend possess her so, as that her better part be lost, for which I pray with hands lifted up to Him that can both save and kill. With my most loving adieu and prayer for thy long life, your most assured and loving Sovereign, as thereby by good deserts induced.

On the 27th of August, Paulet thankfully acknowledges this gracious letter, and gives an account of the execution of the order to bring Mary back to Chartley, and from thence to Fotheringay.

Let us resume the course of events.

February 3d.—The following commission was sent by the Lords of the Council to the Earl of Shrewsbury, as Earl Marshall of England.

According to our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship, this bearer Mr. Robert Beale, whom your Lordship knows to be honest, wise, and trusty, comes to your Lordship with a Commission, under her Majesty's hand and seal; having been directed to show the same to our very good Lord, the Earl of Kent, because his abode was in the way, and as he is second in the Commission, and your Lordship the principal. And as it is convenient that Sir Amias Paulet be acquainted with the same, the bearer is directed to confer with your Lordship how Mr. Paulet may have knowledge of your mind, in order to repair to your Lordship, if his health can serve him, and also that the Earl of Kent may be ready to attend upon your Lordships at such time as shall be thought convenient. And so, praying your Lordship to credit the bearer in such things as

he wished to signify to your Lordship on our behalf, we bid your Lordship right heartily farewell.

Your Lordship's assured loving friends,

Wm. Burghley,	H. Derby,
R. Leicester,	C. Howard,
Hunsdon,	Cobham,
F. Knollys,	Charles Hatton,
F. Walsingham,	Wm. Davison.

From Greenwich, in haste, February 3d, 1587.

Backed as Follows:

"Brought by Mr. Beale, the 6th of February, to Orton Longueville, together with the Commission; with him came Sir Drue Drury. On the 7th we went to Fotheringay, and on the 8th of February, executed the Queen of Scots according to my Commission. Mr. Andrews, the Sheriff of Northamptonshire, I sent to bring her down to execution, and so I charged him with her body living, and with her dead corpse."

The following was the warrant, which had long been prepared.

Deeply foreseeing the continual dangers that we and this whole realm do stand in, through the dangerous practises of Mary, the daughter and heir of James the 5th, late King of Scots, commonly called the Queen of Scots and dowager of France, pretending title to this realm of England, and of diverse other persons, with the privity of the said Mary; and seeing withal that, by the ancient laws of this our realm, they do justly deserve death, and that all the favours and tolerance by us heretofore used towards the said Mary, have and do embolden her and her confederates to persevere in their mischiev-

ous attempts against us and this our realm; we therefore do hereby direct that the said Mary shall and may be pursued unto death, according to the said statute; and for the convenient doing thereof we do hereby direct and command you the said [ ] and every two or more of you, that, at our Castle of Fotheringay, in the county of Northampton, you do immediately cause the head of the said Mary to be cut off: whereof fail ye not. And these our letters patent shall be to you a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf, in witness whereof, &c.*

At the end of six weeks, the Queen signed the warrant. The extraordinary scene that followed, we must allow Davidson, afterwards the well-known victim of Elizabeth's dissimulation, to describe in his own words:—

On Wednesday the 1st, I took the warrant and other things to the Queen to be signed, sending Mrs. Brooks to signify my being there to her Majesty, who immediately sent for me to her presence. On my coming in, her Majesty first asked me whether I had been abroad that fair morning, advising me to do so oftener, and reprehending me for the contrary. At last, she asked me what I had in my hands, I answered the warrant and other things to be signed for her service. She inquired whether I had not brought the warrant for the Queen of Scots; I answered yes, and I thereupon delivered it into her hands. After reading it, she called for pen and ink, signed it, and laying it from her, asked me whether

* To use Sir Walter Scott's expression, "This may well be pronounced a murder committed with the sword of justice."

I was not heartily sorry it was done? My answer was, that I was sorry a lady so near in blood to herself, should so far forget her duty both to God and her Majesty, as to give her this cause, &c. After this, she commanded me to carry it to the Seal, and to give my Lord Chancellor orders from her to use it as secretly as might be, and, by the way, to show it to Mr. Secretary Walsingham, because "she feared the grief thereof would kill him outright,"* for so it pleased her Majesty to say of him.

This done, she called for the rest of the warrants and other things I had to sign, and despatched them all with the best disposition and willingness, that might be, in the meantime repeating to me some reasons why she had so long deferred the matter, as namely for her honour's sake, that the world might see she had not been violently or maliciously drawn into it; that she was never so ill-advised, as not to see and apprehend her own danger, and the necessity she had to proceed to the execution; and thereupon, after some intermingled speech here and there, she told me she would have it done as secretly as might be; and, misliking that it should be executed

* In von Raumer this expression becomes, "*She added cheerfully.*" This will serve as a fair sample of the tact exhibited by the German in colouring, or rather *dis*colouring history.

Mr. Sharon Turner grows metaphysical: "There is often an attempted levity assumed or struggled for, in forcing the mind to do what it dislikes, and Elizabeth's expression *seems* to have been an effusion of this artificial self-bravery."

Robertson is honest. "At the moment of her subscribing the writ that gave up a woman, a Queen, and her own nearest relation, into the hands of an executioner, she was capable of making a jest."

in the open court, or on the green of the Castle, expressly willed that it should be done in the hall; which I take to be certain arguments both of her meaning it should be done, and in the form prescribed in the warrant. After I had gathered up my papers, and was ready to depart, she fell into some complaint of Sir Amias Paulet and others, who might have eased her of this burthen. She wished me to deal with Mr. Secretary, and that we should jointly write to Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, to sound their dispositions; aiming still at this, that it might be done so, that the blame might be removed from herself; and though I had always *before* refused to meddle therein, upon reading her Majesty's former reasons, as a thing utterly condemned, yet was I content as I told her, for satisfying her, to let Sir Amias understand what she expected at his hands; although I before had assured myself, it would be so much labour lost, knowing the wisdom and integrity of these gentlemen, who, I thought, would not do an unlawful act for any respect in the world. But finding her Majesty desirous to have him sounded on this behalf, I departed with a promise to signify the same to Mr. Secretary, and that we would both acquaint Sir Amias with this her pleasure. Repeating to me again, that she would have the matter closely handled, because of her danger, I promised to use it as secretly as I could, and departed. That afternoon, I repaired to my Lord Chancellor, where I produced the warrant to be sealed, having in my way visited Mr. Secretary, and agreed with him about the form of the letter; to be written for her Majesty's satisfaction, to Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury,

which, on my return from my Lord Chancellor; was despatched.*

The next morning, I received a letter from Cranmer, my servant, whom I had left at court, signifying to me her Majesty's pleasure that I should forbear to go to my Lord Chancellor, till I had spoken with her; and within an hour after came William Killigrew, with the like message from her, whom I returned with this answer; "that I would be at court as soon as himself, and give her Majesty an account of what I had done." Cranmer's letter, and Killigrew's message, were plainly intended for an occasion of saying afterwards that she sent to forbid the warrant's being carried to the Seal, though doubtless she imagined it was at that time sealed. On my coming to court, she asked me whether I had been with my Lord Chancellor; I told her, yes. She demanded what needed that haste. I answered, that I had done no more than she commanded, and thought it no matter to be dallied withal. "But," says she, "methinks the best and safest way for me, is to have it otherwise handled," particularizing a person, that she pretended liked her better, naming unto me some that were of that opinion, whose judgment she commended. I answered, that I took the honourable and just way to be the best and safest, if she meant to have it done at all. Whereupon, her Majesty replying nothing for that time, left me, and went to dinner. Within a day or two after, her Majesty being in the Privy Cham-

* Sanderson says; "The cunning Walsingham, though he had the greatest hand in contriving the Queen's death, craftily got out of the way while the deed was doing. He had one of his convenient and politic colds."

ber, called me to her, and smiling told me, how she had been troubled that night with a dream she had, that the Queen of Scots was executed; pretending to have been so much troubled at the news, that, if she had had a sword, she could have run me through. But as this was delivered in a smiling pleasant manner, I answered her Majesty, that it was very good for me I was not near her, so long as that humour lasted. But, taking hold of her speech, I asked her Majesty in great earnestness what it meant? and whether, having proceeded thus far, she did not mean to go forward with the execution? Her answer confirmed with a solemn oath, and with some vehemency was, "Yes!" She, however, thought it might receive a better form, "because," said she, "this casts the whole burthen upon myself." I replied, that the form prescribed by the warrant, was what the same required, and the only form that was to be kept in honour and justice. She answered that there were wiser men than myself of another opinion. I told her, I could not answer for other men, but of this I was sure, that I never heard any man give a sound reason to prove it honourable and safe for her Majesty to take any other course that what standeth with law and justice. And so without any further reply at that time, her Majesty rose up, and left me. The same afternoon, as I take it, she asked me whether I had heard from Sir Amias Paulet; I told her no. But within an hour or two after, going to London, I found the following letters from him, in answer to that from Mr. Secretary and myself.

To Sir Amias Paulet.

Sir,—After our hearty commendations. We find

by a speech lately uttered by her Majesty, that she doth note in you both a lack of that care and zeal for her service which she looketh for at your hands, in that you have not, all this time, of yourselves, without any procrastination, found out some way to shorten the days of that Queen, considering the great peril she is hourly subjected to, so long as the said Queen lives; wherein, besides a kind of lack of love towards her, she noteth greatly, that you have not that care of your own particular safeties, or rather, the preservation of religion, and the public good and prosperity of your country, that reason and policy demand; especially having so good a warrant and ground for the satisfaction of your consciences towards God, and the discharge of your credit and reputation towards the world as the oath of the Association, which you have both so solemnly taken and vowed, especially as the matters wherewith she standeth charged are so clearly and manifestly proved against her. And therefore, she taketh it most unkindly, that men professing that love towards her that you do, should, in a kind of sort, for the lack of the discharge of your duty, cast the burthen upon her, knowing as you do, her indisposition to shed blood, especially of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood as the said Queen is. These respects we find do greatly trouble her Majesty, who, we assure you, hath sundry times protested, that, if the regard of the danger of her good subjects and faithful servants did not move her more than her own peril, she would never be drawn to assent to the shedding of blood. We thought it very meet to acquaint you with these speeches lately passed from her Majesty, referring the same to your

good judgment, and so we commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

Your most assured friends,

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM,
WILLIAM DAVISON.*

To the Right Hon. Sir Amias Paulet, one of Her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

London, 1*st of February*, 1587.

SIR AMIAS PAULET AND SIR DRUE DRURY IN REPLY.

SIRS,—Your letters of yesterday coming to my hands this present day, at five in the afternoon, I would not fail, according to your directions, to return my answer with all possible speed, which I deliver unto you with great grief and bitterness of mind, in that I am so unhappy as to have lived to see this unhappy day, in which I am required by direction of my most gracious Sovereign, to do an act which God and the laws forbid. My goods, living, and life, are at her Majesty's disposal, and I am ready to lose them this next morrow, if it shall so please her, acknowledging that I hold them as of her mere and most gracious favour, and do not desire to enjoy them but with her Highness' good liking; but, God forbid I should make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience, or leave so great a blot on my poor posterity, as to shed blood without law

* When it has been proved by the publication of documents such as these, that the Queen of England was capable of deliberate assassination, it is superfluous for historians to tell us, that, as a woman, Elizabeth had no chastity, as a princess no honour, as a Sovereign no faith.

Chalmers, Vol. ii. p. 59.

or warrant. Trusting that her Majesty of her accustomed clemency, and the rather by your good mediation, will take this my dutiful answer in good part, as proceeding from one who will never be inferior to any Christian subject living, in duty, honor, love, and obedience towards his Sovereign. And thus I commit you to the mercy of the Almighty.

Your most assured poor friend,

A. PAULET.

From Fotheringay, the 2nd of Feb., 1587.

Your letters coming in the plural number, seem to be meant as well to Sir Drue Drury, as to myself; and yet, because he is not named in them, neither letter directed unto him, he forbeareth to make any particular answer, but subscribeth in heart to my opinion.*

D. DRURY.

* In Davison's examination, he thus pointedly alludes to the above correspondence. When the question was put to him,—"Did she [Elizabeth] not, six or seven days afterwards, tell you that she had a better way to proceed therein?" he replies, "On the receipt of a letter from Mr. Paulet, *upon such cause* AS SHE BEST KNOWETH, she uttered such a speech as that she would have matters otherwise done, the particulars whereof *I leave to her best remembrance.*"

These letters were copied from Paulet's own note-book. The Duke of Chandos in returning them to Lord Oxford, says; "They are valuable curiosities, and deserve well to be preserved." On this Chalmers remarks; "It was not sufficient to say that these letters were *curiositics:* they will for ever remain indubitable proofs of the murderous spirit of Queen Elizabeth." In defiance of incontrovertible evidence, the German commentator, whom we have more than once quoted, affects to consider these documents as spurious. He might well do so; for after attempting to curry the favour of a certain party, by eulogising Elizabeth as a pattern of gentleness

Secretary Davison continues: "The next morning, having access to her Majesty, I told her I had letters from Mr. Paulet, which her Majesty desirous to see, took and read; but finding thereby that he was grieved with the motion made unto him, offering his life and all he had, to be disposed of by her Majesty, but absolutely refusing to be an instrument in any such action as was not warranted in honour and justice, her Majesty falling into some terms of offence, complained of the daintiness, and, as she termed it, perjury of him and others, who, contrary to the oath of Association, did cast the burthen upon her, blaming the niceness of these precise fellows, who, in words, would do great things for her safety, but, in deed, perform nothing: and she concluded, that she would have it done without them. And here entering into particulars, she named to me, as I remember, one Wingfield, who, she assured me, would with some others undertake it. This gave me occasion to show to her Majesty, how dishonourable, in my opinion, any such course would be, and how far off she would be from shunning the blame and stain thereof, which she so much sought to avoid.* And here falling particularly upon the

and open-hearted candour, as the model of every virtue, public and domestic, these documents were found to be somewhat tough and indigestible things.

Nor must we let our readers lose the benefit of Mr. Turner's observations on this subject. "On this imputation I cannot hesitate to say, that, as far as she indulged such a desire, she was meditating the act of murder, though *she did not perceive or mean* the purpose to be of this character. . . . If Elizabeth really meant an evasion of the public death and of its scandal, it was the dictate of moral cowardice, and of contriving selfishness, and the *incipient formation of a criminal deed!*"

* Burleigh has faithfully sketched the character of Elizabeth

case of Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, I told her, that it was a marvellous extremity she would have exposed these gentlemen to; for, if in a tender care for her surety, they had done what she desired, she must either allow their act, or disallow it; if she allowed it, she took the matter upon herself, with her infinite dishonour; if she disallowed it, she overthrew those faithful gentlemen, who she knew did truly and faithfully love her, and not only ruined themselves, but their whole estate and posterity, and therefore thought this a dangerous and dishonourable course, both for herself and them. And so, after some particular speech of Mr. Secretary and others, touching some matters past, her Majesty calling to know whether it was time to go to the closet, broke off the discourse.

At the next access to her Majesty, having certain things to be signed, her Majesty entered of herself into some earnest discourse of the danger she daily lived in, and how it was more than time this matter was despatched, swearing a great oath that it was a shame for them all that it was not already done, and therefore spoke to me to have a letter written to Mr. Paulet* for the despatch thereof, because the longer it was deferred, the more her danger increased. Knowing what orders had been taken by the Lords, in sending the commission to the earls, I answered that there was no necessity, as I thought, of sending

in one single word. "If to-day she be more than a man, to-morrow she will be less than a woman."

* After Mary had fallen under the murderous axe, Paulet was by the wisdom of Cecil sent as governor to the Island of Jersey, where he might be out of the way of gossip, and where he practised every mode of oppression.—*Chalmers*, vol. ii. p. 59.

any such letter, the warrant being so general and sufficient."

This artifice having failed, Elizabeth still delayed the execution, in the hope, perhaps, that some lucky chance, or the daring hand of some one of the numerous minions of her power, might yet spare her the necessity of dipping her hands in the blood of a sister-queen.

In the meantime, while the hated object of her guilty purpose was submitting to her hard destiny with the dignity of a Queen and the resignation of a martyr, Elizabeth was distracted with gloomy and perplexing thoughts. She gave herself up to solitariness; sat mute, and was frequently heard to sigh deeply and mutter to herself; *Aut fer, aut feri*—Either bear with her, or strike home; alluding, says Camden, to a certain emblem, *Ne feriari, feri*—strike, lest thou be stricken.* In this temper of her mind, there was one at her elbow to prompt dark counsels, which however were but little needed. *Mortua non mordet*—the dead bite not, was a well-timed saw, whispered in her ear by the treacherous Master of Gray.

"When Elizabeth," to use the words of Hume, "thought that as many importunities had been used, and as much delay interposed as decency required, she at last determined to carry the sentence into execution: but even in this final resolution she could not proceed without displaying a new scene of duplicity and artifice. In order to excite the vulgar, rumours were dispersed that the Spanish fleet

* Naught could appease
The wolf of hatred snarling in her breast.
Webster.

had arrived at Milford Haven; that the Scots had made an irruption into England; that the Duke of Guise was landed in England with a strong army; that the Queen of Scots had escaped from prison, and had raised an army; that the northern counties had begun an insurrection; that there was a new conspiracy on foot to assassinate the Queen, and set the city of London on fire: nay, that the Queen was actually assassinated."*

Feb. 7th.—For two or three days the servants of Mary had observed with surprise the frequent arrival of strangers at Fotheringay. On the evening of the seventh of February, the Earl of Shrewsbury was announced; and his office of Earl Marshal instantly suggested the fatal object of his visit. In the following official report we are presented with the particulars.

THE EARLS OF SHREWSBURY, KENT, &C., TO THE COUNCIL.

On the fourth of this present, Robert Beale, came

* Mr. Ellis, in his admirable collection of "letters illustrative of English history," has preserved several specimens of the "Hue and Cry," on the alarms above mentioned. Take the following: "These are to charge you, in her Majesty's name, upon pain of death to make diligent search, and Hue and Cry every way, for the Queen of Scots who is fled; to lay all the high ways, and stay all barks and shipping in your harbours: keeping a constant watch day and night, till you receive orders to the contrary. February 3, 1587."

"These are in the Queen Majesty's name, to charge and command immediately upon sight hereof, to send like notice four manners of ways, from town to town, to set your men in armour, and your artillery in readiness, with all speed under pain of death, for London is on fire! Let this go to Exeter on horseback. Haste, haste, haste!"

to the house of the Earl of Kent, to whom your Lordship's letter and message were delivered, and her Majesty's commission shown; whereupon I sent to stay such hue and cry as had troubled the country, requiring the officers to arrest such persons as should bring warrants without names, as had before been done, and to take them before the next justice of the peace, that the occasion of such seditious reports might be known. It was resolved that, on the Monday following, the Earl of Kent should come to Lylford to Mr. Elmes, to be nearer and readier to confer with my Lord of Shrewsbury. On Sunday night, Robert Beale came to Fotheringay, where, he communicated the commission to Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury. But as Sir Amias Paulet was but lately recovered, and not able to repair to the Earl of Shrewsbury, being then at Orton six miles off, it was thought good that Sir Drue Drury and Robert Beale should go to him, which they did on Tuesday morning; and, together with her Majesty's Commission, deliver to him and the Earl of Kent your Lordship's letter, informing him what was proper to be done, and begging his Lordship to come hither the day following to confer with me and the said Earl concerning the same. We then communicated the warrant to the justice of the peace of the county of Huntingdon for the staying of the hue and cry, and to bring us word to Fotheringay Castle on Wednesday morning, what he had done in respect to the authors of these reports. The same order Sir Amias Paulet had taken in this town, and other places adjoining. The same night, the Sheriff despatched letters to Sir Edward Montague, Sir Richard Knightly, Mr. Thomas Brudenel, &c., to be here on Wednesday, by eight

o'clock in the morning, at which time it was thought meet that the execution should take place. Upon Thursday, we the Earls came hither, when the sheriff met us; and upon conference between us, it was resolved that the care of sending for the surgeons, and other things necessary to provide, should be committed to him against the time. We then repaired to her; and first, in the presence of herself and her folks, to the intent that they might see and report hereafter, that she was not otherwise proceeded with than according to law, and the form of the statute made in the 27th of her Majesty's reign, it was thought convenient that her Majesty's Commission should be read to her, and afterwards she was by sundry speeches willed to prepare herself against the next morning. She was also put in remembrance of her fault, of the honourable manner of proceeding with her, and the necessity that was imposed on her Majesty to proceed to execution; for that otherwise it was found that they could not both stand together; that ever since the Lord Buckhurst's being here, new conspiracies were attempted, and would be still; and therefore, as she had now a long time had warning, by the said Lord Shrewsbury and Robert Beale, to think upon and prepare herself to die, we doubted not that she was, before this, settled, and therefore would accept this message in good part. And to the effect that no Christian duty might be said to be omitted, that was for her comfort, and tending to the salvation of her soul, we offered, if it so pleased her, to confer with the Bishop and Dean of Petersborough, the latter of whom we had appointed to be lodged within one mile of that place. Thereupon, crossing herself in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy

Ghost, she said that she was ready to die, and in the Catholic and Roman faith, which her forefathers had professed, and from which she was not to be moved. And although we used many persuasions to the contrary, yet we prevailed nothing; and therefore when she demanded the admittance of her priest we utterly denied that to her. She then demanded to know what answer we had touching her former petition to her Majesty, concerning her papers and accounts, and relative to the bestowing of her body. To the first, we said we had no other answer to make, but that we thought if they were not sent before, the same might be in Mr. Wade's custody, who was now in France; and seeing her papers could not in any wise pleasure her Majesty, we doubted not but the same would be delivered to such persons as she should appoint. For our own parts, we undoubtedly thought her Majesty would not make any profit of her things, and therefore, in our opinion, she might set down what she wished to have done, and the same would be communicated to her Majesty, from whom both she and hers might expect all courtesy. In respect to her body, we knew not her Majesty's pleasure, and therefore could neither say that her petition would be denied, or granted. As to her practising with Babington, she utterly denied it, and would have it inferred that her death was on account of her religion. To this we immediately replied, that, for many years, she had not been touched for religion's sake, nor would have been now, but that this proceeding against her was for treason, inasmuch as she was capable of that horrible conspiracy for destroying her Majesty's person. This she again denied; adding further, that although for herself she forgave them that were

the procurers of her death, yet she doubted not but God would take vengeance thereof. Upon being charged with the depositions of Nau and Curle, proving it against her, she replied, that she accused none, but that hereafter when she shall be dead, and they remain alive, it shall be seen how *indifferently* [impartially] she had been dealt with, and what measure had been used to her. She asked, if ever it had been heard before this, that servants had been practised upon to accuse their mistress? She also inquired, what had become of them, and where they were at present.

Upon our departure from her, for as it seemed by the commission, that the charge of her was at the disposition of us the Earls, we required Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury to receive, for that night, the charge which they had before; and to cause the whole number of soldiers to be on watch that night; that her folks should be shut up, and order taken that only four of them should be at the execution, the rest remaining off aloof, and guarded with certain persons, so that they should not come near her. The persons allowed to be present were Melville, her steward, her physician, and apothecary.

From another source we have the following additional particulars:—Mary listened to the warrant of execution which was read aloud to her, without any change of countenance. Arming herself with the sign of the cross, she said to them in a cheerful tone: "My Lords, I bid you welcome. The day which I have long expected, nay, allow me to say, which I have long desired, is at last arrived. It is now nearly twenty years that I have been languishing in prison, useless to others and a burden to my-

self. What termination can there be to such a life more happy, or more honourable, than to shed my blood for the religion of my fathers. I might speak of the long and aggravated wrongs which I have suffered from my enemies, and, with respect be it spoken, from your mistress, my sister and cousin, from whom I taught myself to expect so very different a treatment, having, in the first instance been invited hither as her guest, and then, contrary to all law and justice, been detained as her prisoner. But I speak not this in anger or resentment; God knows all such feelings have long been dead in the bosom of Mary Stuart. Even had not a sentiment of religion blunted the edge of every harsher feeling, this body, borne down by disease and suffering, would not have kept alive so much bitterness and unchristian resentment. As for the death of the Queen, your Sovereign, listen to me," said she, placing her hand on a testament which lay on the table, "listen to my last words: I call God to witness that I never imagined it, never sought it, never consented to it." "That book," exclaimed the Earl of Kent, "is a popish testament; the oath to you on such a book is of no value." "It is a Catholic Testament," rejoined the Queen, with her usual vivacity, "on that account I prize it the more: and, therefore, according to your own reasoning, you ought to judge my oath the more satisfactory." The Earl, in return, exhorted her to abandon all papistical superstition, to save her soul by embracing the true faith, and to accept the spiritual services of the Dean of Peterborough, a learned divine, appointed by the Queen. Mary replied; "I have been long and well instructed in my religion; I have heard learned and good men speak upon the true doctrines whch appertain

to salvation; and when here in my captivity, I had no longer an opportunity of hearing, I have read more works of controversy than you would ever have imagined. As to your religion, the Earl of Shrewsbury who now hears me, can testify, that I have listened to, and conversed with, the ablest preachers of your creed: but I have found nothing to induce me to abandon the ancient belief; the faith of the good old time, the creed of my fathers' fathers. God give me grace to be steadfast to the same. It is my only stay here, and my hope hereafter. I would rather endure all torments and loss of life, than relinquish it; and in support of the same am I here ready to die. You have proposed to me the Dean of Peterborough; as the minister of a creed in which I do not believe, I cannot hear him. I request you to allow me the aid of Le Preau, my almoner, who, they tell me, is still in the house. This is the last indulgence I have to demand." It was answered that her request could not be granted; that it was contrary to the laws of God and the laws of the land, and would endanger the safety both of the souls and bodies of the commissioners.* A long and desultory conversation followed. Mary asked if her son had forgotten his mother in her distress; whether none of the foreign powers had interceded in her favour; and lastly, when she was to suffer. To this question the Earl of Shrewsbury answered, not without considerable emotion,—"Tomorrow morning at eight o'clock."

* In denying to Mary the favour never refused to the meanest criminal,—that of having a clergyman of her own communion to attend her, Elizabeth showed that she could point her persecution against the soul, as well as the body of her victim.—*Whittaker.*

The Earls were about to retire, when Mary inquired what had become of her two Secretaries; and not receiving a satisfactory answer, she asked with much earnestness, whether Nau were dead or alive. Drury replied, that he was still in prison. "What!" she exclaimed, "is my life to be taken, and Nau's to be spared? I protest before God," putting her hand again on the book, "that Nau is the author of my death. He has brought me to the scaffold, to save his own life. I die in the place of Nau. But the truth will soon be known."*

Before leaving, the Earl of Kent again ventured

* The Queen in her will and on all occasions made a distinction between Nau and Curle; she considered the latter as having been seduced by the former. According to the account given by them, Nau drew the answer to Babington in French, and read it to Mary, who approved of it, Curle translated it into English, and having read his translation to Nau, put it into cypher. From this account it would appear that Mary never saw the letter. Nau might have taken upon himself to insert the passage respecting the murder, and yet have designedly omitted to read it to his mistress. It should be recollected, that she continued to the end to accuse him of being the author of her death. Of Curle, it is but fair to give the testimony of Henry Clifford, the biographer of the Duchess of Feria, as quoted by Dr. Lingard; "I was present at his death, when, a little before calling father Creswell, and the gentlemen, and men of any fashion, both English and Scotch, he there protested upon hope of his salvation, his fidelity and true loyalty to the Queen his mistress, both living and dead, against the calumnies and imputations that had appeared in print, the authors of which were too credulous. This he spake, myself being a witness, with great asseveration, protesting his innocence even at the last gasp, as he should answer it before the tribunal of the eternal judge. This I hold myself bound in conscience to write, for he desired all the assistants to witness what he affirmed on his death bed."

to propose the spiritual aid of the Dean of Peterborough, which the Queen persisted in refusing more firmly than before. Shocked by her obstinacy, he said hastily; "your life would have been the death of our religion, and your death will be the life of it."

Mary's physician seeing the Earls ready to depart, applied to them most earnestly, of his own accord, to consider the rank of his mistress, and the importance and multiplicity of the affairs she had to settle. On this account, he entreated that they would postpone the execution a few days longer. But no attention was paid to his request.

Mary had heard the denouncement of her death with a serenity of countenance and a dignity of manner, which awed and affected the beholders. No sooner were Elizabeth's agents withdrawn, than all Mary's domestics flocked around her, and burst into tears and lamentations. Though not displeased with this natural testimony of their affection, she imposed silence upon them, saying; "my children, this is not the time to weep. You have rather cause to rejoice that your poor mistress is so near the end of all her miseries. Console yourselves with the thought, that God has chosen me to die in his cause. Yes, let my enemies say what they please; did you not hear the words of the Earl of Kent at parting? He betrayed the true secret, that my religion is the real cause of my death. Nay, then, my children, be resigned, and leave me to my devotions."

After long and fervent prayer, the Queen was called by her waiting-maids to supper. She had begged it to be prepared somewhat earlier than usual, that she might have time after it was over, to

employ herself in the many different offices and duties that remained for her for perform. She ate sparingly, but was cheerful and chatty as usual. She again adverted to what had fallen from the Earl of Kent relative to her religion. "It is plain," said she, "from his discourse, that whatever other pretexts they use for taking away my life, my religion is the true cause for which I suffer. As to Kent's attempt to bring me over to the Protestant faith, marry! can I hardly refrain from smiling at his unfitness for such an office. Nay, nay," she added, "if I am to be converted, it must be by some other Doctor than my Lord of Kent."

Before she rose from table, she desired that all her servants might be called into the room. They thronged with eagerness around the table, anxious to behold a mistress who had now become doubly dear to their hearts, and to gaze upon a face which shortly they should behold no more. "My children," said she, "I have called you to drink with me; take wine and pledge your mistress." They did as she commanded, fell upon their knees, and mingling tears with the wine, drank to their mistress; at the same time they asked her forgiveness if they had ever offended her; and she, on her part, asked their pardon, if she had failed in her duty towards them, or had ever spoken or acted to them unkindly; and concluded with a few words of advice for their future conduct in life. "It is your mistress," said she, "who thus exhorts you to discharge your duty to God, to persevere steadfastly in the faith, and to live in peace and charity one with another. Let me beg of you, in the name of God, to banish all enmity, malice, and ill-will from your hearts, all worldly-mindedness, envy, and pride of heart. Bury in

oblivion the quarrels and dissensions that prevailed among you in times past, remembering that 'it was an enemy that did this.' I entreat you, for the future to be of one accord, so living together in Christian charity, that your enemies may say like the Pagans of old, 'see how these Catholics love one another!'"

This important night, the last of Mary's life, she divided into three parts. The arrangement of her domestic affairs, the writing of her will, and of her three last letters, to her confessor, her cousin of Guise, and the King of France, occupied the first and longer portion. The second she gave to exercises of devotion. In the retirement of her closet, with her two confidential maids, Jane Kennedy and Elspeth Curle, she prayed and read alternately; and sought for consolation and support in reading the passion of Christ, and a sermon on the death of the penitent thief. About four she retired to rest: but it was observed that she did not sleep. Her lips were in constant motion, and her mind seemed absorbed in prayer. It was during these solemn moments, that tradition says she composed the following rhythmical prayer, the touching pathos and simplicity of which go to every heart.

O Dominie Deus,
Speravi in Te;
O care mi Jesu,
Nunc libera me.
In durâ catenâ,
In miserâ pœnâ,
Desidero Te!

O my Lord and my God.
All my hopes are in Thee;
In my need, dearest Jesu,
O succour thou me!
'Midst fetters deep-galling,
'Midst ills deep-enthralling,
My hearts yearns for Thee!

Languendo, gemendo,
Et genuflectendo,
Adoro, imploro
Ut liberes me!

While in anguish I languish,
Thus kneeling before Thee,
I adore, I implore Thee
In my need succour me!

MARY TO LE PREAU, HER ALMONER.

They have been battling with me to-day on my religion, persisting on my receiving consolation from their heretical teachers. You will learn from Bourgoin, and the others, that, at least, I have faithfully made protestation of my faith, in which I wish to die. I requested to have you with me, to make my confession, and receive my sacrament, which was cruelly refused me; as well as my request to have my body transported into France, and free power to make my will, or to write any thing but by their hands, and under the good pleasure of their Mistress. In defect of this, I now confess the grievousness of my sins in general, as I had intended to do to you, in particular; beseeching you, in the name of God, to watch and pray this night with me, for the satisfaction of my sins, and to send me your absolution, and pardon of all my offences towards yourself. I will endeavour to see you in their presence, as they have granted me to do in regard to my Chamberlain, and if that be permitted me, I will upon my knees, in presence of all, ask your blessing. Point out to me the most proper prayers for this night, and for tomorrow morning. The time is short, and I have no leisure to write; but I will recommend you, with the rest, and, above all, your benefices shall be assured to you, and I will recommend you to the King. I have time for no more. Advise me, in writing, of whatever you shall think conducive to my salvation.

I will send you some little parting token of my remembrance.

At the foot of the letter is the word, REMEMBER.*

* It will not fail to strike the reader as a singular coincidence, that REMEMBER, was the parting word addressed by

MARY TO THE DUKE OF GUISE.

My good Cousin.—As you are among the dearest to me in the world, I write to bid you my last adieu. By the unjust judgment of my enemies, I am upon the point of suffering death as none of our race ever before suffered, and least of all one in my station. Yet, my good Cousin, render thanks to God for the same. Situated as I was, I was useless to the world in the cause of God and His Church. But I hope that my death will testify my constancy in the faith, and my readiness to die for the maintenance and restoration of the Catholic Church in this unfortunate Island. Though heretofore executioner has never dipped hand in our blood, yet let not your cheek redden at the thought, my good friend, for this judgment of heretics and of the enemies of the Church, men who have no jurisdiction over me a free Queen, will prove acceptable in the sight of God, and profitable to the children of his church. Were I one of them, one of the children of delusion, I should not suffer this blow. All of our house have been objects of persecution to this sect, as witness your good father, with whom I hope to be received into the mercies of the just judge. I recommend to you the care of my poor attendants, and the discharge of any debts that I may leave behind me. I also beg you to cause masses to be said for the repose of my soul, and to make provision for an annual dirge for the same object; the means for this purpose, as well as my last wishes in the same regard, will be conveyed to you by these my poor helpless attendants, the eye-witnesses of

Mary's grandson, Charles I., to his almoner Bishop Juxton, by whom he was attended on the scaffold.

this my last tragedy. May God prosper you, your wife, children, brothers, and cousins, and especially our head, my good brother and cousin, and all his; the blessing of God, and that which I should give to my child, be on you and yours, whom I recommend to God, no less than my own unfortunate and ill-advised child. You will also receive from my people certain tokens from me, in order to remind you to cause prayers to be said for the soul of your poor cousin, destitute as she is of all aid and counsel but that of God, who is graciously pleased to give me strength and courage singly to resist the wolves that are howling around me: glory be to his name!—Mark one thing; give credence to what will be told you by the person who gives you a ruby ring from me; I can answer for it on my conscience that you will be told the truth of what I have directed, especially as to what concerns my poor attendants, and the share which is to come to each. I recommend to you this person for her simple sincerity and honesty, that she may be placed in some good situation. I have chosen her as the least partial, and who will report my orders most simply and sincerely. But do not let it be known that I had given her any thing to reveal to you in private; I should be sorry to raise any jealousy among the poor things.—I have suffered much for these last two years and more, far more than I have let you know, and that for the best of reasons. But God be praised for all! It is my parting prayer that He would give you his grace to persevere in the love and service of his Church, as long as you live; and never may this glory depart from our race, that all, men as well as women, may be ready to shed their blood to maintain the cause of our faith, all worldly con-

siderations east aside. As for myself, I hold myself born, both on the paternal and maternal side, so to offer my blood; from this I never have had, nor have at this moment, the slightest intention to degenerate. May Jesus who was crueified for us, render us worthy of the voluntary offering of our bodies to his glory, and to this also may the intereession of all the holy saints and martyrs avail.

From your affeetionate Cousin, and perfeet friend,

MARIE R.

P. S. In order to degrade me, they had eaused my canopy of state to be pulled down. I caused to be put up in plaee of my eoat of arms, the figure of the crueifixion of my blessed Saviour, and pointed it out to their notice. They were more kind after that. But of this and many other things you will be duly informed. Once more, farewell!

The letter to the King of Franee, is dated "Wednesday, two hours after midnight." It coneludes as follows: "Thanks be to God, he has given me courage to meet death without fear; and with perfeet truth I protest, that I meet it innoeent of erime. Even had I been an English subjeet, I should have been justified in my attempts to regain that liberty which was withheld from me by injustiee. I die for the Catholic religion, and for maintaining the right given me by heaven to inherit the crown of England: these are the true grounds of my condemnation. This bearer and his companions will bear witness to you as to my deportment in this my last scene. It remains that I beg of you, as the most Christian King, my brother-in-law, and who have always done me so mueh honour as to deelare that you love me, now to give me a proof of

it, by recompensing my afflicted servants; and by causing prayers and the holy sacrifice of the altar to be offered up for a Queen, who likewise bore the title of most Christian; and who now dies in the profession of the one true Catholic faith."

At the first break of day, Mary's household assembled around her. She had ordered her attendants to dress her with more than usual care. She came forth attired as gorgeously as she was wont to be on days of particular festivity. Her head-dress was of fine lawn, edged with rich lace, with a veil of the same, thrown back and reaching to the ground. She wore a mantle of black printed satin, lined with black taffeta and faced with sables, with a long train, and open sleeves hanging to the ground. The buttons were of jet in the form of acorns, and set round with pearls; the collar à l' Italienne. Her *purpoint* [surcoat] was of black figured satin, and under it a bodice, unlaced on the back, of crimson satin, with the skirt of crimson velvet. A pomander chain with a cross of gold was suspended from her neck, and a pair of beads from her waist. She read to them her will,* distributed among them her clothes and money, and bade them adieu, kissing her female attendants, and giving her hand to the men to kiss. Tears, sobs, and lamentations were the only answers returned. Weeping they followed her into her oratory, where she took her place in front of the altar; they knelt down and prayed behind her.

* The Queen wrote her will without once stopping or lifting her hand from the table. It fills two large sheets of paper, and is preserved in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh. She is very minute in the distribution of her effects, not omitting the name of one of her many servants.

In the midst of the Castle-hall had been raised a scaffold, covered with black serge, and surrounded with a low railing. About seven o'clock the Castle-gates were thrown open; the gentlemen of the county entered with their attendants; these and Paulet's guard augmented the number of spectators to nearly two hundred. At eight o'clock, a message was delivered to the Queen, who replied that she would be ready in half an hour. During this interval, she continued on her knees before the altar, engaged in the most fervent devotion. When, at the appointed hour, Andrews, the Sheriff of the county, entered the apartment, he stood for some moments unobserved. The Queen was absorbed in her devotions, and her poor attendants had given themselves entirely up to grief. The moment Mary perceived the Sheriff, she rose up, and with a placid but majestic countenance, told him she was ready. She took the crucifix from the altar in her right hand, and carried her prayer book in her left. Her servants were pressing to follow their beloved mistress, when an order retained them where they were; they insisted: but the Queen begged them quietly to obey, and turning gave them her blessing. They received it on their knees, some kissing her hands, others her mantle. The door closed: and a burst of lamentation from those within resounded through the hall.

Mary was now joined by the Earls and her wardens. On reaching the stair-case she felt too feeble to descend; assistance was necessary; and as the cares of her own attendants had been denied her, she was constrained to accept the assistance of two of Paulet's servants; leaning upon their shoulders she descended, and on reaching the foot of the

stairs, courteously thanked them for the kind office they had rendered her. Here she was met by Melville, the steward of her household, who for several weeks had been debarred from her presence, but was now permitted to take his last farewell. This old and faithful servant threw himself on his knees before her, and wringing his hands, exclaimed; "Ah, Madam, unhappy that I am! was ever man on earth the bearer of such woful tidings as I shall be, when I report that my good and gracious Queen and mistress was beheaded in England!" He could no more; grief choked his utterance. Mary was moved, but summoning all her fortitude, she said; "Good Melville, cease to lament: thou hast rather cause to joy than mourn; for this day shalt thou see the end of Mary Stuart's troubles. In this world there is nothing but vanity and vexation of spirit. Bear from me, I pray thee, this message to Scotland, that I die a true woman to my religion, and firm in my fidelity to Scotland and to France. God forgive them that have long thirsted for my blood, as the hart doth for the brooks of water. O God! thou art the author of truth, and truth itself. Thou knowest the inner chamber of my thoughts; and that I always wished the union of England and Scotland. Commend me to my son; and tell him that I have done nothing prejudicial to the dignity or independence of his crown, or favorable to the pretended superiority of our enemies. Admonish him to hold in amity with the Queen of England; and see they do him faithful service."

On pronouncing these words, her usual fortitude for a moment failed her, and she burst into tears. "Good Melville, farewell," she said; and kissing

him, repeated, "once again, good Melville, farewell, and pray for thy mistress and Queen."

Drying up her tears, and turning to the Earls, she again requested permission for a few moments' interview with her Almoner, but it was refused her, "The Lords," says the official report, "not thinking it proper to waste so much time with a priest." Something too was hinted about "her pair of beads, her Agnus Dei, and crucifix, which were said to be superstition enough already."

Baffled in this important suit, she requested, that her servants might witness her last moments, and bear testimony to the world of her patient suffering, and that she died faithful to the Catholic religion. The Earl of Kent objected that they would be troublesome by their grief and lamentations, might practise some superstitious trumpery, perhaps might die their scarfs and kerchiefs in her Grace's blood. "My Lords," said Mary, "I will give my word for them. Poor harmless souls, they will incur no blame. It is so natural for them to wish to bid their mistress adieu. Certainly your mistress being a maiden Queen, will vouchsafe, in regard of womanhood, that I may have some of my women about me at my death." Receiving no answer, she continued; "I know she has not given you so strait a commission, but that you might grant me a far greater courtesy, were I a woman of lesser calling than the Queen of Scots." Perceiving that they still demurred, she exclaimed with an energy that awed all the bystanders; "Am I not the cousin of your Queen, a descendant of the blood-royal of Henry the Seventh, a married Queen of France, and the anointed Queen of Scotland?" The fanaticism of the Earl of Kent, and the attendant Lords could not

resist so commanding an appeal; they consulted for a moment apart, and consented to admit four of her men, and two of her women servants. She selected Melville, Burgoin her physician, and her apothecary and surgeon, with her maids Kennedy and Curle.

The melancholy procession now moved forward. It was headed by the Sheriff and his officers; next followed Paulet and Drury, and the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury; lastly came the Queen of Scotland, with Melville bearing her train. Her step was firm and her countenance composed and full of a dignity that awed the beholder. She bore without shrinking the gaze of the spectators, and the sight of the scaffold, the block, the executioner, and all the array of death, and advanced into the hall with that grace and majesty, which she had so often displayed in her happier days, and in the palace of her fathers. To aid her as she mounted the scaffold, Paulet offered his arm. "I thank you, sir," said Mary, with her usual courtesy, "it is the last trouble I shall give you, and the most acceptable service you have ever rendered me."

The Queen seated herself in the place prepared for her. On her right stood the two Earls, on her left the Sheriff and Beale the clerk of the Council, in front the executioner from the Tower, in a suit of black velvet, and his assistant also clad in black. The warrant for her execution was then read by Beale; she listened to it to the end with attention and composure, but as if her thoughts were occupied by some more absorbing subject. She then addressed the assembly in a firm and audible voice. "It is a new spectacle," said she, "to behold a Queen die upon a scaffold. But I would have you remember, that I am a sovereign princess, not sub-

ject to the parliament of England, but brought hither to suffer by injustice and violence. I am the near relation of Queen Elizabeth, and am by blood the lawful inheritor after her of the crown of England. I have been long and wrongfully detained a prisoner in these lands, where I have endured much misery, with no other right but what force gives to be so treated. I however thank God that it has afforded me an opportunity of publicly professing my religion, and of having this assembly to witness that I die in the Catholic faith. Before them, and in presence of the living God I also declare, what I have before declared, that I never imagined, nor compassed, nor consented to, the death of the Queen of England, nor ever sought the least harm to the life of my cousin. After my death many things which are now buried in darkness, will come to light. I have been guilty of nothing which merits the present punishment, unless I be charged with my religion, for which I deem myself most happy to shed my blood. I place all my hopes in Him, who is represented on this crucifix which I hold in my hand; and I promise myself that the temporal death which I am to suffer for his name, will be the beginning of an eternal life with the angels and saints above. From my heart I pardon all my enemies, and all who have done me wrong, and I beg forgiveness from all to whom I may have done amiss." With the exception of one or two hearts whom fanaticism had steeled to every gentler feeling, there was not one of the assembled multitude who heard her with dry eyes. The very executioners falling on their knees, begged forgiveness for the office they were to perform.

Here Dr. Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough, having

caught her eye, broke in upon the few sacred moments that remained to her, and under the cover, perhaps through motives, of zeal, contrived to insult the feelings of the unfortunate sufferer. He told her that his mistress, though compelled to execute justice on her body, was careful of the welfare of her soul; that she had sent him to bring her to the true fold of Christ, out of the communion of that Church, in which if she remained she must be damned; that she might yet find mercy before God, if she would repent of her wickedness, acknowledge the justice of her punishment, and profess her gratitude for the favours she had received from Elizabeth. Mary begged him not to trouble himself and her. He persisted: she turned aside. He made the circuit of the railing, and bending his body towards her, renewed his exhortations: "Madame, the Queen's most excellent Majesty"—Mary again turned, and resuming his former position, he repeated: "Madame, the Queen's most excellent Majesty"—Mary a third time interrupted him, and said firmly: "Mr. Dean, my mind is settled in the ancient Catholic faith; in that I have lived, and, by the grace of God, in that I am resolved to die."* An end was at length put to this extraordinary scene by the Earl of Shrewsbury, who seeing that she persisted in refusing his exhortation, said to her: "We will pray for your Grace, that it may stand with God's will that your heart may be enlightened, even at the last

* Such treatment as this on the part of a dignitary of the Church could only have been the effect of instruction from his superiors. There are evidences, that he hoped by brutality like this to commend himself at court. He was shortly after made bishop of London.—*Robertson.*

hour, with the true knowledge of God, so that you may die therein." "If you will pray for me," said Mary, mildly, "I will thank you; but to join in your prayers, I cannot, for you and I are not of the same religion." They then beckoned to the Dean, who offered aloud a prayer, which was the echo of his sermon: but Mary heard him not. Her whole soul was absorbed in her devotions, repeating with a loud voice, and in the Latin language, various prayers and passages from the psalms. When the Dean had concluded, she too prayed in English, and with such unction and earnestness, that all present were to appearance more affected than herself. The following were among the outpourings of her heart: "O my God, send down upon me thy Holy Spirit to enlighten me; grant me patience and perseverance in suffering for the holy Catholic faith. I pray Thee for the peace and the union of Christendom; for concord among Christian princes, for the restoration of the true religion, to the comfort of the persecuted, and for the return of all those to the true fold who have gone astray from the unity of the faith. Turn thy wrath, O God, from this Island; let the light of thy countenance again shine upon this thy once favoured people; this I ask through the blood and the loving kindness of Jesus Christ thine only Son. Pardon the Queen of England and all my enemies, and turn their hearts to Thee. From my soul I acknowledge my unworthiness; I am humbled by the sight of my transgressions; but through the death and passion of my blessed Lord and Saviour, and through that blood which he shed for sinners, I hope for mercy and forgiveness."

At the conclusion of her prayer, Mary held up the crucifix, and exclaimed; "As thy arms, O my

Saviour, were extended on the cross, in like manner receive me into the outstretched arms of thy mercy, and pardon all my sins!" The puritanism of the Earl of Kent was shocked. "Madame," said he, "you had better leave such popish trumperies; have Christ in your heart, and not in your hand." She replied, "I cannot hold in my hand the representation of his sufferings, but I must at the same time bear him in my heart. It represents to my eyes the Saviour suffering upon the cross by the hands of wicked men; and it enables me to meet my sufferings with patience."

When her prayer was finished, her maids bathed in tears, helped her to rise, and began to disrobe their mistress. But the executioners, fearing to lose their usual perquisites, hastily interfered. The Queen remonstrated; observing to the Earls with a smile, that she was not accustomed to such grooms, nor used to undress in the presence of so numerous a company. When one of the executioners took from her neck a gold cross and the chain to which was suspended the Agnus Dei, she took it from his hands, and giving it to one of her women, told him that it should be answered for with money. When disrobed to her kirtle, she replaced with her own hands, a pair of sleeves which they had pulled off; it was remarked that "she did it in haste, as if she had longed to be gone." Her attendants, at the sight of their Sovereign in this destitute and forlorn condition, could not suppress their feelings; but Mary turning to them, placed her finger on her lip, and said in French; *Ne criez pas; j'ai promis pour vous*,—do not cry; I am under a promise for you. Then giving them her blessing and embracing them,

she bade them pray for her, and not to weep, but to rejoice at seeing the end of all their mistress' troubles. Without the railing stood Melville and the rest of her men servants, sometimes weeping aloud, and continually crossing themselves. She gave them also her last blessing, and begged them not to cease praying for her till her last moment. She then seated herself again. Mrs. Kennedy took a Corpus-Christi cloth, lapped it three-corner-wise, kissed it, and placing it over the Queen's face, pinned it fast to her head-dress. One of the executioners took her by the arm and led her to the block; and the Queen kneeling down, said repeatedly with a firm voice, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." At this moment sobs and groans burst from the spectators, and disconcerted the headsman. He trembled. The axe descended, and missing its aim, inflicted a deep wound in the lower part of the skull. The Queen remained motionless, and at the third stroke her head was severed from the body. When the executioner held it up convulsed and streaming with blood, he cried as usual, "God save Queen Elizabeth."

"So perish all the Queen's enemies!" subjoined the Dean of Peterborough. The fanatical Earl of Kent, approaching the dead body and standing over it, exclaimed in a still louder tone; "Such end of all the Queen's and the Gospel's enemies!"

Not a voice was heard to cry amen. The spectators continued silent, and drowned in tears. Party feeling was absorbed in admiration and pity!

When the head-dress of her who was once a Queen was disturbed, it disclosed a head of hair, white "with other snows than those of age." The

cares and the sorrows of twenty years of captivity had done the work of eighty winters.*

A little circumstance occurred, which, as it added greatly to the interest of the scene, is surely not unworthy of what is sometimes fastidiously termed "the dignity of history." When they were about to remove the body of the unfortunate Queen, her little dog, which had followed its mistress to the scaffold, unobserved amidst more absorbing objects, was found to have concealed itself beneath the folds of her robe, "from which," says Beale's narrative, "it could not be gotten forth but by force, and afterwards would not depart from the dead corse, but went and laid itself down between her head and shoulders; a thing well noted by many." While fidelity shall hold its place among the virtues, this remarkable instance of attachment deserves to be remembered. The reader will not have forgotten Mary's attachment to different kinds of animals, and to the very lap-dog in question, which is stated to have been a present to her from the Arch-bishop of Glasgow, her ambassador in Paris.

A solemn requiem for the repose of the soul of Mary Stuart, was celebrated in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, in Paris, the moment the news of her end, at once melancholy and triumphant, reach-

* In the official account of the execution by the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, is a little trait, quite in accordance with their character. "Her servants were immediately removed, and orders taken that none should approach the corpse, but that it should be embalmed by the surgeon appointed. And further, her cross, apparel, and other things, are retained here, and not yielded to the executioner, *for inconveniences that might follow;* but he is to be rewarded by such as sent him hither."

ed the French capital. The funeral discourse was preached by the Arch-bishop of Bruges.

"Many of us," said the venerable orator, in a tone that drew tears from every eye, "many of us have seen in this very place the Queen whom we now deplore, on her bridal morning and in her royal robes, so resplendent with jewels that they shone like the light of day, or like her own beauty, which was more resplendent still. Nothing was to be discovered around or within but embroidered hangings, and cloth of gold, and precious tapestry, and couches and thrones occupied by kings and queens, and princes and nobles, who had come from all parts to be present at the festival. In the palace were magnificent banquets, and pageants, and masquerades; in the streets and squares, joustings, tournaments, and processions. It seemed as if the overwhelming brilliancy of our age was destined to surpass the richest pomp of every preceding age,—even the times when Greece and Rome were in all their splendour. A brief space has passed away like a cloud, and we have seen *her* a captive whom we saw in triumph,—a prisoner, who set the prisoners free,—poor, who gave away so liberally,—disdained, who was the fountain of honour. We have seen *her*, who was a twofold queen, in the hands of a common executioner, and that fair form which graced the nuptial couch of the greatest monarch in Christendom, dishonoured on a scaffold. We have seen that loveliness which was one of the wonders of the world, broken down by long captivity, and at length effaced by an ignominious death. If this fatal reverse teaches the uncertainty and vanity of all human things, the patience and incomparable fortitude of the queen we have lost

also teach a more profitable lesson, and afford a salutary consolation. Every new calamity gave her an opportunity of gaining a new victory, and of evincing fresh proofs of her piety and constancy. It seems certain, indeed, that Providence made her affliction conspicuous, only to render her virtue more conspicuous. Others leave to their successors the care of building monuments to preserve their name from oblivion; but the life and death of this lady are her monument. Marble, and brass, and iron decay, or are devoured by rust; but in no age, however long the world may endure, will the memory of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots and dowager of France, cease to be cherished with affection and admiration."

Father Southwell, who, as we before observed, was chaplain to the Countess of Arundel, the correspondent of the Queen of Scots, has left an Elegy on Mary's death, an extract from which may not be unacceptable to the reader.

Alive a Queen, now dead I am a Saint;
  Once Mary call'd, my name now Martyr is:
From earthly rule debarr'd by long restraint,
  Now do I reign supreme in heavenly bliss.

The scaffold was my couch where ease I found,
  The block a pillow to my sainted rest;
The headsman cast me in a blissful swound,
  His axe cut off sad cares from cumber'd breast.

Rue not my death,—rejoice at my repose;
  It was no death to me, but to my woe:
The bud was open'd to let out the rose,
  The chain unloos'd to let the captive go.

In his "Triumphs over Death," the same gifted writer exclaims;

"Like Jephtha's daughter she passed the latter

years of her life in wandering among the mountains of this troublesome world. The term of her pilgrimage is now expired; she is returned to be offered unto God a grateful sacrifice, and to ascend out of this desert, like a cloud of perfume from the spices that heap the altar."

In the British Museum, No. 1265, there is a Cantatata, set by Carissimi, on the death of Mary of Scots. It begins with a recitative, in which she addresses herself to the executioner;

> Firma, lascia ch'io parli;
> Hold, allow me first to speak:

This is followed by an adagio air, which breathes uncommon simplicity and energy of passion.

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